

1975

# The Downfall of a King: Dom Manuel II of Portugal.

Russell Earl Benton

*Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool\\_disstheses](https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses)

---

## Recommended Citation

Benton, Russell Earl, "The Downfall of a King: Dom Manuel II of Portugal." (1975). *LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses*. 2818.  
[https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool\\_disstheses/2818](https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/2818)

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses by an authorized administrator of LSU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact [gradetd@lsu.edu](mailto:gradetd@lsu.edu).

## **INFORMATION TO USERS**

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

**Xerox University Microfilms**

300 North Zeeb Road  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

76-132

BENTON, Russell Earl, 1939-  
THE DOWNFALL OF A KING: DOM MANUEL II OF  
PORTUGAL.

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural  
and Mechanical College, Ph.D., 1975  
History, modern

**Xerox University Microfilms**, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© 1975

RUSSELL EARL BENTON

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

**THE DOWNFALL OF A KING: DOM MANUEL II OF PORTUGAL**

**A Dissertation**

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**in**

**The Department of History**

**by  
Russell E. Benton  
A.B., Erskine College, 1961  
M.A., Stetson University, 1962  
August 1975**



## INTRODUCTION

The events which transpired in Portugal in October 1910 did not greatly affect the world at large. For Dom Manuel II, the last king of Portugal, they were profoundly important. By the autumn of 1910, the likelihood of a Republican revolution in Portugal was so great foreign journalists even went there to witness the end of the monarchy. The stage was thus set for the overthrow of a venerable dynasty, one which had occupied the Portuguese throne for 270 years, and the downfall of an ancient monarchy stretching back some eight centuries.

The House of Braganza, which had ruled Portugal since 1640, provided the country with more rulers—fourteen—for a longer period of time than any of her other dynasties. Manuel II was the last member of that family to occupy the ancient throne. He was only eighteen years old when he suddenly found himself king following the murder of his father and older brother in February 1908, and he ruled but two and one-half years before the Republican revolution removed him from power in October 1910. The remaining years of his life he spent in exile abroad largely occupied with the collection of an extensive library of early Portuguese literature. When he died suddenly in the summer of 1932, he was only forty-two.

No biography of the last of the Braganza monarchs exists in the English language. In writing this work my original intention was to examine all the relevant material available on Manuel II and to draw a portrait of the monarch from it. In doing so I found it difficult to

secure enough primary sources relating to the earlier years of his life before he appeared in the national spotlight in 1908. Likewise, many of the papers associated with his reign were destroyed by his personal secretary in October 1910 at the outbreak of the revolution. I have, therefore, decided to concentrate on the major event of his life, the 1910 Revolution, and his later years in exile when he made valuable contributions as a man rather than as a monarch. In undertaking my research I am indebted to a number of individuals and institutions for their generous help. Chief among the individuals are: Mrs. Asta-Rose Alcaide, Cultural Affairs Specialist, the Embassy of the United States, Lisboa, and her secretary, Mrs. Luise Mello; Mr. Rudi Gomes, formerly Political Counselor, the Embassy of the United States, Lisboa; Dr. Manuel Corte-Real, Protocol Officer, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Portuguese Government, Lisboa, and Dr. Helder de Mendonça e Cunha, Chief of Protocol, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lisboa; Dr. Maria Luisa Bartolo, Chief of Cultural Services, Casa de Bragança Fundação, Lisboa, and A. Luis Gomes, Director of the Casa de Bragança Fundação, Lisboa, who generously furnished me with several rare publications relating to Manuel II; Dr. Armindo Aires de Carvalho, Conservador-Chefe of the Nacional Palacio de Ajuda, Lisboa, and his staff for the personally conducted tour of Portugal's crown jewels; Dr. Mario Q. Graça, Director of the Biblioteca Municipal, Lisboa; and the Honorable Luis Couceiro Feio, Secretary-General of the Cause Monarquica for his invaluable help.

I would, furthermore, like to express my appreciation to the directors and staffs of the following institutions who provided research facilities: The Library of the Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; the Arquivo Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa; the Biblioteca

Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa; the Museu da Marinha, Lisboa; the Library in the Ducal Palace at Vila Vicosa, Portugal; the Public Record Office, London; the British Library (formerly part of the British Museum), London; the Bodleian Library of Oxford University, Oxford, England; the Twickenham Reference Library, Twickenham, England; and the Richmond Public Library, Richmond, England.

I am especially indebted to His Majesty, Umberto II of Italy, Manuel II's cousin, for the interview which he granted me at his seaside villa in Cascais, Portugal on June 23, 1972.

I wish to extend my appreciation to J. Preston Moore, Professor Emeritus of History, Louisiana State University, who originally encouraged me in this endeavor; and to two members of the Department of History, Louisiana State University, under whose guidance I completed this dissertation: Jane L. DeGrummond and Karl A. Roider, Jr.

Finally, to my parents I owe eternal gratitude for their lifelong guidance and encouragement.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . .	vi
ABSTRACT . . . . .	vii
 CHAPTER	
I. THE PORTUGAL OF MANUEL II'S CHILDHOOD, 1889-1908 . .	1
II. MANUEL'S EARLY LIFE, 1889-1908 . . . . .	17
III. MANUEL II'S REIGN, 1908-1910 . . . . .	47
IV. THE 1910 REVOLUTION . . . . .	94
V. MANUEL'S YEARS IN EXILE, 1910-1932 . . . . .	131
EPILOGUE . . . . .	206
BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .	219
 APPENDIXES	
A. THE HOUSE OF BRAGANZA, 1640-1910 . . . . .	227
B. THE PRESIDENTS OF PORTUGAL DURING MANUEL II'S LIFETIME, 1911-1932 . . . . .	230
VITA . . . . .	231

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration	Page
1. Prince Manuel, in 1904, in naval uniform . . . . .	25
2. Dom Manuel II in his coronation regalia . . . . .	61
3. Manuel and his bride at Sigmaringen at the time of their marriage, September 1913 . . . . .	159
4. The last formal portrait of Dom Manuel II, 1932 . . .	198

## ABSTRACT

Dom Manuel II, the last Braganza monarch of Portugal (1908-1910), was the second son of King Carlos (1889-1908) and his consort, Amelia of Bourbon-Orleans. He ascended the throne following the tragic death of his father and elder brother in Lisbon on February 1, 1908. Unprepared for the responsibilities which befell him, he proved unable to resolve Portugal's internal problems and in 1910 was forced from his throne by a republican revolution.

When Manuel became king in 1908, Portugal was beset by severe political and financial difficulties, caused by corruption in the government, exploitation of Portuguese resources by foreign speculators, and excessive spending on the part of the royal family. The ruling political parties, the monarchist Regenerators and Progressives, had no intention of reforming this system which allowed them to exploit the Portuguese economy and government for their own ends. Only a strong ruler, willing to institute reforms on a large scale and purge the monarchist parties of their more corrupt members, could resolve the problems within the existing political system. Unfortunately, Manuel II was no such monarch. Young and inexperienced, he effectively performed only the official duties of his office and displayed no understanding or appreciation for the serious problems which plagued his state. As a result monarchy became an empty tradition in Portugal, neither rooted in the hearts of the people nor based upon adequate political support.

The monarchy's opponents, small in number, grew increasingly

vocal in their demands for change. By 1910 a well-organized Republican Party, containing some of the nation's leading intellectual and military figures, openly challenged the existing government. In October of that year a successful uprising swept the Braganzas from their throne. Portugal became the first European nation in the twentieth century to embrace Republicanism.

Manuel's downfall was caused by a combination of financial and political factors. Overriding all, however, was the total inability of the last Braganza to take the decisive action necessary to implement changes which might have preserved the monarchy. The young king depended too much upon the guidance of those reactionary advisors who had traditionally surrounded the throne. Likewise, the royal family's inability to live within its means and Manuel's strong reliance on conservative elements in the Roman Catholic Church seriously damaged the monarchy's popularity among the Portuguese people. All these factors combined to bring down the monarchy in 1910.

After the revolution, Manuel established his residence in England where he lived quietly until his death. In 1913 he married Princess Augusta Victoria of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. During the First World War Manuel served with distinction in the British Red Cross and was instrumental in creating a rehabilitation program at Shepherd's Bush for those maimed on the battlefield. He approved Portugal's entry into the war in 1916 and urged his followers in Portugal to cooperate fully with the Republican government in the war effort. After 1919 he resided at his estate in Twickenham, England and spent the remaining years of his life collecting and cataloguing a valuable library of Portuguese literary masterpieces. From his exile Manuel never ceased to practice

a policy of moderation toward the Republicans who had replaced him. In an indirect way, he served as a "good-will" ambassador for his native country in the years after 1910.

Manuel II died on July 2, 1932. He left no children, and with his death ended the Coburg line of the Braganza family. The nominal leadership of the House of Braganza passed to Dom Duarte, the Duke of Braganza, grandson of King Miguel I (1828-1834), who remains the pretender to the Portuguese throne.



## CHAPTER I

### THE PORTUGAL OF MANUEL II'S CHILDHOOD

Manuel II was the second son of Carlos I, who had ascended the Portuguese throne in October 1889. Three years earlier Carlos had wed the Princess Marie Amelia of the Orleans branch of the French royal family.<sup>1</sup> Three children were born of the union, two sons and one daughter named Maria Ana who died shortly after her birth.<sup>2</sup>

By some ironic twist of fate the last Braganza to rule in Portugal—Dom Manuel II—was born on November 15, 1889, the very same day that the last Braganza to rule in Brazil—Dom Pedro II—was losing his throne. Manuel was born at 4:45 in the morning at his parents' palace in Belem in the same room where his older brother had been delivered some two years earlier. Dr. de Borba, who had attended Queen Amelia at Vila Viçosa during the birth of her infant daughter was called to Belem to assist at Manuel's birth along with the royal parteira (midwife), D. Alice Costa. The queen dowager, Maria Pia, was advised by telephone that her new grandchild would be arriving soon and she hurried to the palace from her residence at the Ajuda nearby. The new prince was thus born in the presence of his grandmother,

---

<sup>1</sup> Carlos and Amelia's marriage contract, Gaveta 16, Maço 4, N. 1, Arquivo Nacional, Lisboa. For an account of the wedding see Times (London), May 24, 1886, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Aires de Sa, Principe Real D. Luis Filipe (Lisboa: Parceria Antonio Maria Periera, 1929), p. 443.

while other officials of the royal household and the Patriarch of Lisbon waited in an adjoining room. When born, the prince was immediately dressed in a gown for a preliminary baptism that afternoon.<sup>3</sup>

That same day King Carlos received word from his Minister of Foreign Affairs that the monarchy had been overthrown in Brazil. The following day, while he attended the Church of São Domingos celebrating a Te Deum in praise of his infant son, he heard the news from Brazil confirmed. On December 7, 1889 the Brazilian vessel Alagoas arrived in the Tagus River from Rio de Janeiro with the dethroned Pedro II and his wife, the Empress Teresa, on board. They were offered a suite of rooms in one of Carlos' Lisbon palaces but they declined, preferring to reside in quarters vacated by the American minister and his family at the Hotel Braganza.<sup>4</sup>

The dowager queen Maria Pia had wanted to name her new grandson for her father, the unifier of Italy, Victor Emmanuel II, but when the young prince was formally baptised on December 18, 1889 he was given a long, impressive list of names—Manuel Maria Felipe Carlos Amalio Luis Miguel Raphael Gonzagua Xavier Francisco d'Assisi Eugenio of Braganza, Orleans, Savoy and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.<sup>5</sup> As the second son of the reigning sovereign, he was accorded the title of the Duke of Beja.

---

<sup>3</sup> Carlos Malheiro Dias, Quem e O Rei de Portugal (Lisboa: José Bastos and Co., 1908), pp. 15-16.

<sup>4</sup> Fortunato de Almeida, História de Portugal, (6 vols., Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, Ltd., 1957), VI, 414. The Empress, in poor health, died in December 1889. Pedro II died two years later.

<sup>5</sup> The account of Manuel's baptism can be found in Gaveta 22, Maço 1, N. 26, Arquivo Nacional, Lisboa, signed by the Patriarch, Queen Maria Pia, the Count of Paris and other officials.

Manuel's baptismal service took place in the Belem Palace in the presence of the royal family and specially invited guests. The infant was carried into the room by the Count of Sabugosa who served as royal chamberlain. The baptismal sacrament was administered by Cardinal José Neto, the Patriarch of Lisbon, with the Papal Nuncio observing at close range. Carlos appeared extremely pleased on the occasion. Queen Amelia was not present for the service, but her mother-in-law, the queen dowager, was. She and the Count of Paris, Amelia's father, served as the infant's godparents.<sup>6</sup>

The kingdom over which Carlos presided at the time of Manuel's birth in 1889 numbered 4,660,000 citizens. Its capital city, Lisbon, contained some 301,000 persons. Its population had doubled within the last fifty years. In 1885 the vast suburban areas had been incorporated into the city creating a new entity known as "Greater Lisbon." Portugal's growth rate had been particularly impressive after 1878. By 1900 she passed the five million mark in overall population, while Lisbon itself acquired 55,000 additional citizens.<sup>7</sup> Most of Portugal's growing population lived in one of two major cities, Lison or Oporto, or in small villaged scattered throughout the rural areas of the kingdom. Agriculture remained the foundation of the Portuguese economy. The establishment of the Liberal regime after 1834 had greatly enlarged the opportunities for agricultural expansion. Land under cultivation

---

<sup>6</sup> F. J. Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II. História do seu Reinado e da Implantação da Republica (Lisboa: Edição Portuguesa A. B. C., 1931), pp. 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> Stanley Payne, A History of Spain and Portugal, (2 vols., Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), II, 541.

increased. By the 1890's agricultural production had accelerated considerably due to an increased demand for food and to the enactment in 1889 of the first tariff of the century that provided any real protection for Portuguese grain. The greatest extension of cultivation did not occur in the already heavily farmed Minho region of northern Portugal, but rather in the southern area of the nation, where small farmers had repopulated the Alentejo region by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Industry, likewise, experienced considerable growth in the second half of the nineteenth century. Prior to 1820 leather and textiles were among the major products manufactured within the kingdom. By 1880 leather-working had declined while textiles moved into first place, followed closely by tobacco, milling, cork, ceramics, and glass production. Dairy products and sardine-canning rose rapidly after 1881. Much of Portugal's industrial output was financed by foreign—largely British—capital. In 1884 some 10% of all companies and industrial societies in the country were foreign-owned. By 1900 foreign firms had increased to one-sixth of the total industrial concerns within the state. In 1891 the tobacco industry was converted into a monopoly, with the capital belonging predominantly to foreigners. The industrialization of the country had, however, produced some Portuguese millionaires as well. By 1900 Portugal had such men as Narciso Ferreira (textiles) and Alfredo da Silva (chemicals) who amassed large fortunes.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 535-539.

<sup>9</sup> A. H. de Oliveira Marques, History of Portugal, (2 vols., New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), II, 6-7.

By 1881 Portugal had some 180,000 workers employed in 1350 factories mainly located in the two major cities. The economic expansion of the state was assisted by the government's policy of developing transportation and communication. After 1851 the government actively promoted the construction of roads, railroads, harbors, lighthouses, and telegraph facilities throughout the country. The man generally credited with the government's policy of industrialization was Fontes Pereira de Melo (Minister of Finance, 1851-52, Minister of Public Works, 1852-56, and Prime Minister, 1871-77, 1878-79, 1881-86). Under his guidance a well developed policy of public works, known as Fontismo, became a major concern of the government. Its purpose was to modernize the nation through a program of material improvements, and in doing so, to give Portugal a place in the civilized world. By means of extensive foreign loans, Fontes and his successors obtained the necessary credits for their policy.<sup>10</sup>

In 1884 Portugal had 5,667 miles of modern macadamized roads. Within sixteen years, by the turn of the century, there were some 8,843 miles of paved roads within the kingdom. Railway construction followed closely behind that of the roads. By 1892 Portugal possessed approximately 3,000 miles of track and within two years ranked tenth among the nations of the world in the extent of railroad tracks for each 100 miles of territory, which placed her ahead of such European states as Greece, Rumania, and even neighboring Spain.<sup>11</sup>

Fontes also promoted the construction of bridges throughout

---

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>11</sup>Payne, Spain and Portugal, II, 536.

the country, completing seventeen of them while in office. A major railroad bridge was built across the Douro River between 1875 and 1877 by the famous French engineer, Gustav Eiffel, which allowed the completion of the main rail line between Lisbon and Oporto. In 1886 a bridge was constructed over the Minho River resulting in the opening of a direct railroad route between northern Portugal and Spanish Galicia. New railroad lines were built between Lisbon and the provinces between 1861 1893. The Algarve, Portugal's southernmost province, was reached by a railroad in 1889, the year of Manuel's birth. The railroads were followed by the telegraph lines which improved communications between the capital and the outlying districts. In 1871 a submarine cable was laid across the Atlantic Ocean via Madeira and Cape Verde which linked Portugal with her former possession of Brazil.<sup>12</sup>

In 1882 Lisbon installed her first telephone system. Wireless telegraph facilities came into being by the turn of the century. Harbors and lighthouses were improved all along the coast. The government constructed an artificial port at Leixoes in northern Portugal to serve Oporto and the hinterland. Lisbon's port facilities were improved after 1887. By 1890 numerous lighthouses had been constructed, beaming out light to vessels at sea.<sup>13</sup>

Trade and commerce likewise grew rapidly during the late nineteenth century. Commercial associations, designed to stimulate trade, industry, agriculture and overseas expansion, came into existence in the major burban centers. By 1875 some fifteen such organizations

---

<sup>12</sup>Marques, History of Portugal, II, 8-9.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

existed in the nation's two largest cities. Yet, despite the growth, the balance of trade seemed always to register a permanent deficit. This was due in large measure to poor management by those governments which followed Fontes and extravagant spending. The deficit substantially increased after 1889. By the turn of the century Portugal was importing (mainly from Great Britain) twice as much as she exported. Among the major imports were woollen, cotton, and silk fabrics and raw materials, machinery, coal, sugar, iron, and codfish.<sup>14</sup> Portugal's rapid industrial expansion had created a need for more and more raw materials and machinery, with the end result being aworsening balance of trade.

The methods of tax collecting were improved after 1842 and a Court of Accounts (Tribunal de Contas) was created in 1849 to oversee all public revenues and expenditures. These reforms, however, could not resolve one of the major problems of parliamentary Portugal, that of the scarcity of government funds. The loss of Brazil and the French invasions of the Napoleonic era, the Civil Wars, and the reforms in government structure had all played their part in increasing government expenditures. Even the expansion of the Portuguese economy had brought about new state expenses in all areas. Fontes' public works had cost money and new expenditures were constantly arising to absorb any new revenues. Consequently, both the budget deficit and the public debt grew larger and larger during Carlos' reign. The increase in expenditures greatly exceeded the increase in revenue.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Marques, History of Portugal, II, 14-15.

<sup>15</sup> Payne, Spain and Portugal, II, 538.

Within the government itself, the growing complexity of public affairs led to an increase in the number of ministries and other agencies. In the early nineteenth century the government had consisted of only four portfolios, those of interior, foreign affairs and war, marine, and public finances. By mid-century there were six. In 1852 the Ministry of Public Works was established, and in 1870 a Ministry of Public Instruction was set up for a brief period of time. It would be recreated again in 1890 for a two year period. All the new ministries and agencies, with increased staffs, added measureably to the nation's expenditures. Portugal's annual revenue for the 1884-1893 period averaged 41,332 contos. From 1894-1903 it was 54,104, and in the final decade of the monarchy, 1904-1910, it reached 67,090. Expenditures for the same periods were 47,420; 57,372; and 69,085 respectively. Portugal was simply living beyond her means throughout the later years of the monarchy. After 1891 pressure from public opinion, especially when combined with Republican propaganda, resulted in a more careful management of national finances. This reduced the deficit somewhat by reducing expenditures, but did not result in any additional revenue.<sup>16</sup>

One of the major problems with Carlos's realm was the lack of a proper educational system. Illiteracy was at the base of many of the nation's ills. At the time of Manuel's birth some 76% of his father's subjects were classified as illiterate. The rate declined gradually after that date—75% in 1900, 69.7% by the end of the monarchy—but it was still at an usually high level for any European

---

<sup>16</sup> Marques, History of Portugal, II, 15-16.



state in the early twentieth century. It was a factor which endowed Republican propaganda with one of its best weapons against the continuation of the monarchy. Yet Carlos' government did undertake considerable efforts after 1900 to improve the nation's educational system. Primary schools were made compulsory for a period of three years. New advanced principles of pedagogy and an increasing number of disciplines were instituted at the secondary level. Higher education also made progress in the late nineteenth century with the introduction of new technical schools, some of them promoting an interest in the creative arts. Portugal, during the twilight of the monarchy, produced its own small complement of artists and writers which gave her some standing among the civilized nations of the world.<sup>17</sup>

General working conditions within the kingdom made very little progress during the nineteenth century. Salaries decreased, especially after 1880, due to the increase in capital and industrial concentration, with the end result that the workers' standard of living worsened. By 1900 the average workday numbered ten hours, but was in many cases much in excess of that. Neither the government nor the capitalists were interested in providing the workers with any legal protection or assistance against accidents or advancing age. The workers responded by joining an associations and striking for improved conditions. Workers' associations grew from sixty-five throughout the entire country in 1876 to over 590 by 1903. In 1889 the number of workers' unions had reached 392, most of which were located in either

---

<sup>17</sup> For the illiteracy rates see Payne, Spain and Portugal, II, 546. Marques, History of Portugal, II, 30.

the Lisbon or Oporto working districts. They had a combined membership of 138,870. Under the monarchy strikes were regarded as illegal and punishable according to provisions of the Penal Code. Despite the law, the workers began strikes in the 1870's which continued intermittently until 1910. By the downfall of the monarchy more than ninety had occurred.<sup>18</sup> Such was the state of Carlos' kingdom at the time of the birth of his second son in 1889.

Carlos' reign began under rather cloudy circumstances owing to the necessity of capitulating a British ultimatum presented to him on January 11, 1890. The British foreign secretary, Lord Salisbury, demanded that Portugal immediately withdraw from the territory of the Makololos and Mashonas (now part of Rhodesia), or Great Britain would sever diplomatic relations by recalling her minister from Lisbon. The king immediately summoned a meeting of the Council of State, at which Portugal's alternatives were fully discussed. Some of the councillors urged rejection of the British demands as an affront to national honor, while others pointed out that Portugal had little choice but to acquiesce since the British could, with apparent ease, seize all of Portugal's colonial possessions in Africa if they so desired. Some believed that the question should be submitted to general arbitration, a view which the king approved but this offer was rejected by the British on January 28th.<sup>19</sup> The final decision to yield to British demands apparently was made by the king himself and a reply was

---

<sup>18</sup>Marques, History of Portugal, II, 28-29.

<sup>19</sup>F. J. Rocha Martins, D. Carlos. História do seu Reinado (Lisboa: Edição Portuguesa A.B.C., 1930), pp. 184-189.

dispatched to Lord Salisbury stating that Portugal submitted, but under protest, to the British terms of the ultimatum concerning the questionable territory in Africa.<sup>20</sup> In the eyes of the public, the press, and a number of politicians the capitulation was regarded as transforming Portugal into a vassal of Great Britain, and it did much damage to the prestige of the monarchy.

A treaty drafted in August 1890, confirming the British claims in Africa, was submitted by the Portuguese government to the Cortes for approval. The anger which it provoked was so great that the government was forced to resign, while the treaty itself was rejected. Carlos' new foreign minister, Barbosa du Bocage, succeeded in negotiating a temporary agreement with the British which sufficed until June 1891 when a permanent accord was reluctantly ratified by the Portuguese parliament.<sup>21</sup>

In January 1891 a Republican revolt took place in Oporto with the support of a small contingent of soldiers. The Portuguese Republican Party had first emerged during the reign of Manuel's grandfather, King Luis I (1861-1889) with the election of a deputy, Rodrigues de Freitas, from Oporto in 1878. It did not make serious progress until the overthrow of the Brazilian Braganzas in 1889 and the British ultimatum the following year. Before 1873 some republican and socialist theories had manifested themselves within the country, but they were isolated and without any influence upon the masses. The proclamation

---

<sup>20</sup>George B. Loring, A Year in Portugal, 1889-1890 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891), pp. 292-293.

<sup>21</sup>Marques, History of Portugal, II, 113-114.

of a Republic in Spain in 1873 had some impact in Portugal, however. A newspaper, the Republica Federal, founded in 1869, drafted a program for the Portuguese Republican Party in 1873 which declared the intent of the party to be the abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of a democratic and federal republic constituted of autonomous states. Lisbon and Oporto would, under the program, alternate as capital cities of the Federation for two year periods. The restoration of the monarchy in Spain in 1874 however shattered the hopes of the Portuguese Republicans for the time being.<sup>22</sup>

The conspirators in 1891 hoped to repeat the success of a similar uprising in 1820 which had produced the nation's first written constitution. They counted on the erosive effect of years of disruptive propaganda, the British ultimatum of 1890, and the recent downfall of the Braganzas in Brazil to aid their cause. On January 31, 1891 Dr. Alues da Veiga, one of the leaders, proclaimed the establishment of a Republic and Miguel Verdial, a famous actor, read the names of the members of the newly created Provisional Government. The uprising failed almost immediately for it lacked the support of the masses. It was quickly crushed by the Municipal Guard of Oporto and forces loyal to the government. Its leaders were placed on trial before a military tribunal and found guilty of treason. They were not executed, but allowed to leave the country. Thus ended the first tentative Republican government in Portuguese history.<sup>23</sup> Had the movement been better organized, it might

---

<sup>22</sup>Antonio Mattoso, História de Portugal (Lisboa: Livaria Sa da Costa, 1939), pp. 317-318.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 314-315.

have spread to other areas of the nation, presenting a serious threat to Carlos' throne.

The most important long-range problem confronting Carlos' regime was the national financial crisis precipitated in large measure by lack of confidence in the government. The Bank of Portugal was forced to declare a moratorium in 1890, while the government tottered on the brink of bankruptcy throughout 1891 and 1892. The public debt reached some 500,000 contos and the trade deficit 23,000 contos. An historian-philosopher, Oliveira Martins, was appointed Minister of Finance in January 1892, but he lacked the proper training for the position and soon resigned. In 1893 attempts were made to raise taxes and duties but this resulted in increased agitation within the Cortes which led to the downfall of the ministry in February. A new government composed of Regenerators, one of Portugal's two major political parties, assumed power under the leadership of its chief, Ernesto Hintze Ribeiro. Unable to resolve the financial problems confronting the nation, Ribeiro postponed elections scheduled for 1894 and ruled by decree under emergency powers, supported by his minister of the interior, João Franco. A new electoral law was drafted which terminated the existence of minority parties in Portuguese elections and prevented their participation in the elections eventually held in November 1895. Although the Regenerators were able to control the lower house of the Cortes as a result of the new law, the prime minister lacked any semblance of authority over the upper chamber. Ribeiro petitioned the king to create new peers to give the government firm control over the upper house as well. Carlos refused to comply with his prime minister's request, forcing him to resign. The Progressive Party, the country's other major

political organization, under José Luciano de Castro, then was asked to form a ministry which governed the nation from 1897 until 1900.<sup>24</sup> Like its predecessor, the new government did little or nothing to resolve the kingdom's financial difficulties.

Hintze Ribeiro and the Regenerators returned to power in 1900, but during the following four years in which they administered the government they called into office no fewer than four Ministers of Finance, all of whom proved incapable of resolving the perplexing financial problems confronting the nation. A crisis of some sort was inevitable. In 1904 the Ribeiro government found itself in trouble on the question of the tobacco monopoly. In 1891 the State, in order to raise a loan from a British firm had, in exchange, granted the company a monopoly on tobacco products in Portugal, a concession which was designed to last until 1926, with minor modifications on the part of the Portuguese government possible from time to time. In 1904 the Regenerator ministry was about to renew the contract when it ran head-on into strong opposition from both Houses of the Cortes. The Progressive in each chamber opposed the renewal because another company, which they favored, wanted to bid on the monopoly. This provoked such an uproar in the Cortes that Carlos was forced to dissolve parliament, calling new elections which returned the Progressives to power, an action which did nothing to resolve the problem. When the Cortes reconvened in 1905 political animosity was so intense between the two political parties over the tobacco monopoly that the king was forced to

---

<sup>24</sup>H. V. Livermore, A New History of Portugal (Cambridge: The University Press, 1966), pp. 309-310; Payne, Spain and Portugal, Vol. II, p. 552.

sign a decree, dated September 11, 1905, adjourning the body until January 1906. When the Cortes reopened at the beginning of that year, José Luciano de Castro found to his great dismay that his government was unable to maintain its majority, which compelled him to demand an immediate dissolution and new elections. Carlos agreed to the dissolution but postponed the call for new elections, appointing the Regenerator leader Ribeiro to once again form a working ministry.<sup>25</sup>

The two parties had proven that they were incapable of working together in the nation's best interests. This led to the creation of several new monarchial parties by 1906, including the Regenerator-Liberal (1902) under the leadership of João Franco, once an active member of the old Regenerator Party, and the Dissident Progressives (1905), led by José Maria de Alpoim, who had once been a regular Progressive. Franco and his supporters stood for a new kind of monarchy, one which would provide for the social needs of the Portuguese people. Alpoim and his followers desired a more liberal regime with strong Republican overtones. The Republican Party also increased its following after the difficulties in 1905. It was led by a distinguished politician, a former member of the Regenerator Party, and previous minister of the Crown, Dr. Bernardino Machado. Although not a powerful political force in the country in 1906, the Republicans had increased their support substantially over the years, especially in the municipalities of Lisbon and Oporto through continued propaganda and promises of lower taxes and

---

<sup>25</sup>Vincente de Bragança-Cunha, Eight Centuries of Portuguese Monarchy (London: Stephen Swift, 1911), pp. 219-220.

food costs. The constant bickering between the established monarchial parties only enhanced the Republican image.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup>Marques, History of Portugal, II, 73. Also see Charge d'affairs Henry P. Fletcher, August 25, 1906, to Secretary Elihu Root, Disptaches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Was' ington, D.C.



## CHAPTER II

### MANUEL'S EARLY LIFE, 1889-1908

One of the major expenses confronting any government in Portugal by 1889 was the royal family's Civil List, and especially the upkeep on numerous royal residences throughout the kingdom. The Crown owned three residences in Lisbon (Ajuda, Belem, and Necessidades palaces), two palaces in the old city of Sintra, a country estate at Vila Viçosa, a neo-Gothic hunting palace at Bussaco, a villa in Cascais and several other seldom-used dwellings throughout the country, including the massive palace-monastery build for João V at Mafra in the eighteenth century. Carlos and his family rotated from place to place at various seasons of the year.

Manuel, as a child, enjoyed all of this family's many fine homes. He played in the gardens at Pena Palace high above Sintra, in the park at Mafra when his father went hunting in the nearby forests, and on the carpets of the Necessidades in Lisbon. He equally enjoyed the gardens of his parents' official Lisbon residence, with the little ponds on which he could observe the black swans and the large greenhouse filled with various flowering plants. As an infant he was entrusted to the care of D. Isabel Saldanha da Gama who came from the old aristocratic Portuguese family of the Counts of Ponte. Assisted by a nurse named

Maria dos Anjos, she watched over her royal charge like a mother hen.<sup>1</sup>

The young prince was a sensitive and intelligent child, who early showed an interest in literature and music. At the age of six his mother, who served as his primary teacher, gave him lessons in reading and writing, and at the same time began his instruction in the arts. He never developed an abiding interest in painting, but rather showed a special tendency toward music, a form of the fine arts he was to perfect later as an outstanding organist. Manuel's daily schedule as a child began at six o'clock each morning when he arose and dressed for the day. For an hour between seven and eight he would study, then have breakfast before reporting for his lessons, first with his mother, and then after the age of twelve, with his tutor. Lunch was followed by some outdoor recreation, then a walk or ride through the palace gardens, and further study or lessons until seven o'clock in the evening. After dinner with his family the young man retired to his quarters for the evening.<sup>2</sup>

Manuel's small suite of rooms in the Necessidades Palace consisted of a workroom very similar to that which one would find belonging to the son of a noble family. It contained sturdy furniture, numerous pictures and photographs, and the necessary books for his studies. On his desk, books and papers were always methodically arranged. The adjoining bedroom accommodated his single bed. A small cross adorned the

---

<sup>1</sup>F. J. Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II. História do seu Reinado e da Implantação da República (Lisboa: Edição Portuguesa A.B.C., 1931), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>José Dias Sanches, O Rei Saudade (Lisboa: Parceira Antonio Maria Pereira, 1932), p. 12

wall above the bed.<sup>3</sup>

In physical appearance Manuel resembled, with his dark eyes and hair, his grandmother's family, the House of Savoy, but intellectually he was much more akin to the creative Saxe-Coburgs who had married into the Braganza family in 1836. His dark brown hair was worn at shoulder-length until he began his formal education in the spring of 1902 under the direction of his brother's tutor, Professor Frans Kerausch, a rather serious-looking Austrian scholar. Kerausch had directed the education of the heir to the Portuguese throne, Luis Felipe, since August 1899. He instructed both the princes in Latin, German, and literature, in addition to supervising their general education.<sup>4</sup>

Manuel's principal childhood companions were the children of the high court nobility, including D. Antonio de Sousa Hosten, who was later to become the Marquis of Fayal and to serve Manuel faithfully until the downfall of the monarchy.<sup>5</sup>

The young prince grew up in the shadow of his older brother, Crown Prince Luis Filipe. The heir possessed many of the same esthetic qualities as the other members of his family, although he developed fewer of them. He liked art, especially the works of the great masters

---

<sup>3</sup>Cardoso de Miranda, O Último Rei (Lisboa: Livraria Ferin, Lda., 1960), p. 114.

<sup>4</sup>Dias, Quem e o Rei de Portugal, p. 31. In addition to Professor Kerausch Manuel received special instruction from Father Damasceno Fiadeiro in history; Monsieur Boye in French; Alfredo King in English; and a Dominican monk, who later became the Bishop of Portalegre, in religion and morals. He also studied mathematics under Marques Leitão and Fontoura da Costa, and the natural sciences from Archilles Machado. In music he took lessons from the Portuguese pianist, Alexandre Rey Colaço.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

like Rembrandt, Rubens, Titian, and Hans Holbein. He, likewise, enjoyed the music of Beethoven, Chopin, and Wagner. After completing his basic education at the palace, Luis Filipe attended the Army School and Military College in Lisbon in order to prepare for his future role as commander-in-chief of the Portuguese armed forces. Manuel, in the meantime, remained at home, studying music and learning to read Plato in the original Greek. At an early age he acquired a knowledge of both English and French, languages which he later spoke with some fluency, as well as Spanish. When not actively engaged in his studies, Manuel spent much of his time on the family estate at Vila Viçosa in the company of his mother and circle of friends. While at Vila Viçosa, Manuel and the queen would often ride across the Spanish frontier to Amelia's mother's home at Villamanrique, where they would visit with the Countess of Paris and other members of the Orleans family. The young prince often hunted in the forests of Andalusia with his uncle, the Duke of Orleans. Amelia maintained a fine stable of horses on the estate at Vila Viçosa but she often complained that the Portuguese blacksmiths did not shoe her animals properly. Manuel, in order to please his mother, learned how to operate the forge and, thereafter, personally shod her favorite steed himself. The queen had taught her son how to ride, since she was generally acknowledged as one of the best equestrians in the Iberian peninsula. She likewise taught him to play billiards, a game in which she excelled as well as she did in horsemanship.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>"The New King of Portugal," Current Literature 44 (March 1908), p. 269.

Due to continued concern over relations with the major powers regarding Africa, Carlos, in November 1895, made a good will trip abroad. His travels took him to France, England, and Germany. In Republican France, his reception was strictly formal, with very little warmth shown by the French officials. In monarchical England and Germany, however, his visits were more cordial. Yet Carlos' trip actually resulted in very little understanding being exhibited by the European powers toward Portugal and her African possessions. The powerful European states were simply waiting for a more opportune moment to remove the Portuguese presence from the African continent. Within Africa itself Portugal was finding it difficult to subjugate certain native groups to the will of the Lisbon government. One such tribe which caused considerable trouble was the Vatuas, a branch of the warlike Zulus, living in southern Mozambique. They were led by an old warrior chieftan named Gungunhana. The chief exercised great power over his people, commanding an army of 20,000 excellent fighters. In late 1894 Gungunhana attacked the Portuguese seaport of Lourenço Marques. The city almost fell to the invading hordes of Vatuas before reinforcements were dispatched from Portugal under the overall command of Antonio Enes, one of Portugal's foremost champions of a great African empire. Enes was a forthright racist who believed that the black man should be totally subjugated to Portuguese rule. He thought that the natives had to be made to work for Portugal or the country would lose with a short time her African empire. Enes released Lourenco Marques and forced the Vatuas to retreat back to their homeland.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Rocha Martins, D. Carlos, pp. 329-332.

In their Indian possessions the Portuguese were also disturbed by petty wars and rebellions. In 1895 the native Mahratta soldiders who, like the British Sepoys, had been trained to fight for the Portuguese, rose up in open rebellion, keeping the colony of Goa in a state of turmoil for several months. The revolt stemmed from a ministerial decree, passed without regard for the soldiers preferences or feelings, which required them to leave India for service in Africa. The Mahratta, refusing to obey the order, had left their barracks and occupied the fort of Nanus. Dom Affonso, Carlos' only brother, was quickly dispatched from Portugal with troops under his command to serve as special Viceroy of Portuguese India (1895-1896). Honest and tactful, the prince was able to reconcile differences and thus resolve the problem. Dom Affonso, as Viceroy, reversed the decision of the Council of Ministers and allowed the Mahratta soldiers to remain in their native India.<sup>8</sup>

The problems in India paled in significance in comparison with the dangers presented by Great Britain and Germany to Portugal's African possessions. Both of those nations seemed eager to replace Portuguese authority with their own on the African continent. Late in 1898 the two powers actually negotiated a secret treaty in which they agreed to divide most of Portugal's overseas areas into special spheres

---

<sup>8</sup>Bragança-Cunha, Eight Centuries, p. 207. Affonso had been born in Lisbon in 1865, two years after his brother, Carlos. His entire career was devoted to the army and for twenty-five years he possessed little or no interest in anything except military affairs. In personal appearance he bore a striking resemblance to his older brother. After his father's death in 1889 the bachelor prince lived with his mother at the Ajuda Palace or in his chalet at Estoril. He was generally referred to in Portugal by his title of the Duke of Oporto.

of influence if Portugal faulted on her debts to foreign creditors as they hoped. Great Britain was to obtain southern Mozambique (including the valuable port of Lourenço Marques), northern Angola, the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape Verde islands, while Germany would claim the remaining portions of Angola and Mozambique. The secret agreement was never implemented because Portuguese finances, although unstable, did not collapse entirely as hoped. A small loan raised privately in Great Britain met the immediate needs of the government.<sup>9</sup> In 1899 the outbreak of the Boer War forced the English to collaborate with the Portuguese in Mozambique. By a secret treaty which Carlos signed at Windsor on October 14, 1899, the British pledged to recognize and guarantee the territorial integrity of Portugal and her possessions, while Portugal promised to allow the transportation of British troops through Mozambique on their way to the Transvaal.<sup>10</sup>

While his father's kingdom sought to resolve in various problems, Manuel's education continued under the direction of Professor Kerausch. On February 25, 1903 he took his first examination after a year of lessons with the Austrian scholar. His reward for the successful completion of this first examination was a two and one-half month yatching trip with his mother and his brother in the Mediterranean which included visits to Egypt, the Holy Land, Greece, Constantinople, Naples, and Pompeii. They were accompanied by a sizeable staff, including Professor Kerausch and a Portugese artist known simply as

---

<sup>9</sup> Marques, History of Portugal, II, 115.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

Casanova.<sup>11</sup> The trip stimulated the young princes' interests and may have been decisive in Manuel's decision to enter the Portuguese navy and make it a career. Shortly after returning to Portugal he announced his intention to become a midshipman. He had accumulated notes and documents for a projected history of the old Ducal palace at Vila Viçosa by that time but they were laid aside and the young man enrolled in the Portuguese navy in the summer of 1904. He may also have been influenced by the daring naval exploits of his Italian cousin, Luigi, the Duke of the Abruzzi, who had made a dash to the North Pole,<sup>12</sup> or he may simply have acquired a fondness for the sea which had manifested itself in both his father and grandfather. In any case, old King Luis, who dearly loved the sea, would have been proud of him.

Manuel became a naval cadet on June 1, 1904. The ceremony of enrolling him as an ensign in the Portuguese navy took place in Lisbon in the presence of the royal family and all the government ministers. In the decree appointing the young prince to the rank of ensign, Carlos declared it his desire to perpetuate the glorious history of the Portuguese navy by allowing his second son to assume a career in it. Several naval vessels from foreign governments were present for the occasion, including the Kearsarge, the Maine, and the Alabama from the United States. The visit of the American fleet to Lisbon made a favorable impression upon the entire community, but upon no one more than

---

<sup>11</sup>Lucien Corpechot, Souvenirs Sur La Reine Amélia de Portugal (Paris: Pierre Lafitte & Co., 1914), pp. 175-176; Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup>"The Prodigious Education of the Young King of Portugal," Current Literature 46 (April 1909), p. 386.





Prince Manuel, in 1904, in naval uniform

the young royal apprentice in whose initiation ceremonies it had participated.<sup>13</sup>

Manuel and his brother were separated from their parents in November 1904 when the king and queen undertook a State visit to England and a semi-private one to France. Carlos' travels abroad to visit with the various crown heads of Europe resulted in a large number of return visits. Between 1903 and 1905 the Braganzas entertained a host of European royalty, as well as the President of France, in Lisbon and its environs. Although not actively involved in all the aspects of the various visits, Manuel was a witness to many of the events which took place on each occasion.<sup>14</sup>

The kingdom's troubled political life erupted again in 1906. Carlos' prime minister, Hintze Ribeiro, informed the monarch that the government's position was deteriorating due to its inability to resolve the financial problems of the day. In his opinion, the only way to assure the continuation of the monarchy was to proclaim an "instant dictatorship." The king gave the recommendation some serious consideration, but decided against it, feeling that such action would do more harm than good to the monarchy's cause. Carlos desired some change in the traditional system but simply felt that Ribeiro was the wrong man to institute it. Replying to his prime minister, the king wrote:

---

<sup>13</sup> Papers Relating To The Foreign Relations of the United States for 1904 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), pp. 703-704.

<sup>14</sup> For a full account of the various State visits, including those of King Edward VII of England, King Alfonso XIII of Spain, Queen Alexandra of England, Kaiser William II of Germany, and President Loubet of France see the Times (London), 1903-1905.

My dear Hintze. . . I thought all night about your request and delayed answering until now because I did not wish to give a reply without considering myself absolutely able, through some information I then lacked, to reply as my conscience tells me I ought to do.

You feel, with the government under your presidency that you cannot proceed in the present situation unless I grant the closing of the cortes which is due to continue meeting next month, and furthermore that I should do this by a simple decree without hearing previously the Council of State. You added that with this done you will take the responsibility for reestablishing a normal state of affairs in Lisbon, which has not been interrupted in the provinces.

It does not appear convenient to me to close the cortes, because this would lead to a revolt of public opinion; not only of the republicans—that would be natural—but also of all the monarchists who are not with you on the present occasion. This would be certain, and we should not have any illusions about it. All we would do would be to add to the number of malcontents. . . . By doing this, the government would only be able to save itself by violence and terror, and evil will befall those who only know how to govern in such a manner. . . .

You, Hintze, and your colleagues think in one way and I in another, which, in all conscience, I believe to be the better.<sup>15</sup>

By 1906 the Portuguese parliament had become an assembly of obstruction and disorder.<sup>16</sup> Obstructionism was employed by both the major political parties and filibustering was a common practice. Both the monarchical parties were justifiably accused of corruption, inefficiency and uselessness. The small Republican contingency made the best possible use of the dissension within the political system to attack the monarchical regime.<sup>17</sup> The Progressives and the Regenerators, the two old monarchist parties, lost support, while the Republicans gained it. What the king wanted, and the country needed, was a leader who could

---

<sup>15</sup> Rocha Martins, D. Carlos, pp. 483-484.

<sup>16</sup> Marques, History of Portugal, II, 74.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

put the honor of Portugal and its well-being above personal or party considerations. Who could, in Carlos' words, "introduce the era of reform which I and the Portuguese people equally desire."<sup>18</sup>

In 1889 Brazil had overthrown her reigning House of Braganza and established a Republic. That event had made a significant impression upon a segment of the Portuguese population, especially in light of the fact that the new form of government in Brazil cost substantially less to operate than the old monarchy it had replaced. The President of the Brazilian Republic was paid far less each year than the funds needed to maintain a king in Portugal. This fact did not go unnoticed by those Portuguese who advocated a similar type of government in their own country. Republicanism sprang from the discontent of the Portuguese people at such heavy expenditures on the part of their hereditary leaders. The cynics began to wonder whether it was worthwhile to pay a king a large stipend when the professional politicians could bleed the taxpayers and pile up heavy debts just as easily as the royal family and its ministers. In time a segment of the population became convinced that a republican government could furnish the solution to the evils of the monarchy. Republicanism began to grow steadily throughout the country in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Into the ranks of the Republican Party came some visionaries and dreamers, but most were men like Bernardino Machado, the titular head of the party, who were dedicated to the dissolution of the monarchy and its replacement with a republican government. Almost all of the leaders were academics, men of integrity

---

<sup>18</sup> Francis Gribble, The Royal House of Portugal (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1915), p. 165.

and standing.<sup>19</sup>

Carlos, as a constitutional monarch, still possessed great powers even in 1906. The Portuguese Constitution declared that the person of the king was sacred and inviolable, and that he was not responsible to anyone save God. He could adjourn the Cortes and dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, if the salvation of the state required it. He could appoint and dismiss the ministers of state at his pleasure and could suspend magistrates if complaints were registered against them. He had the power to grant or deny his approval to the decrees of the Cortes. The term, "the king consents," was necessary for legislation enacted by parliament to become the law of the land. Against the veto of the monarch there was no appeal. What Carlos could not do was control the internal strife and conflicts which characteristically marred the actions of the Portuguese parliament. An example of such activities is recorded in a dispatch sent by the American minister, Charles Page Bryan, to the Department of State in which he recorded "unprecedented political excitement" prevailing in the capital and in the Cortes:

The immediate provocation were direct attacks on the Throne in the Chamber of Deputies when the prime minister declared that he considered it a prerogative of his office to disburse moneys for the royal family at his own discretion to be accounted for as he should judge fit and at such time as suited his convenience. At once there were violent protests in and out of the Cortes. One republican deputy, Affonso Costa, after referring in a session of Parliament to the extravagant allowances made for the King's pleasure trips, declared that the sovereign should be forced to account for, and return every cent thus illegally expended, or be incarcerated in a prison. The speaker also shouted that a coffin

---

<sup>19</sup>E. J. Dillon, "The Portuguese Revolution," Living Age 267 (December 3, 1910), p. 579. Bernardino Machado (1851-1944), had served in the Cortes since 1882. He became a Republican in 1897 and would later serve as President of the Portuguese Republic on two occasions.

such as the one Louis the 16th was buried in, awaited malefactors like the present ruler of Portugal. The intemperate utterances provoked violent scenes in the House. The President thereof demanded a retraction of the treasonable language. Encouraged by his five Republican colleagues and by several malcontents, Affonso Costa declined to comply with the orders of the chair and defiantly repeated his angry threats. After reiterating demands for an apology the presiding officer sent for a company of infantry and expelled the rebellious members who when arrested called on the soldiers to proclaim a Republic then and there.

As soon as the sitting of the chamber was resumed another Republican, Alexandre Braga, made a passionate protest against the treatment of his colleague and repeated all that the later had said. He was likewise ejected by soldiers and both deputies were suspended for a month.<sup>20</sup>

Over such political activities the Portuguese monarch had no constitutional control.

Carlos' major difficulty was that he was surrounded by men who were more interested in their own petty concerns than in the nation's well-being. José Luciano de Castro, the leader of the Progressive Party in the Portuguese Cortes, was a distinguished journalist as well. Born in 1834, he had served as prime minister between 1886-1893, 1897-1900, and again in 1904. He was, however, a wily politician, a weak orator, and a physical cripple during the later years of his life, who exercised a controlling influence over his party's Deputies and manipulated votes to serve his own selfish interests.<sup>21</sup> Ernesto Hintze Ribeiro, the Regenerator leader, was not much better. Born at Ponta Delgada in the Azores in 1849, he had served as Minister of Public Works and Foreign Affairs in several governments, as well as holding

---

<sup>20</sup>Minister C. P. Bryan, November 27, 1906, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>21</sup>Charles Nowell, Portugal (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 110.

the office of prime minister in 1893-1897, 1900-1904, and finally in 1906. As prime minister he had first showed some liberal tendencies, but was eventually forced by circumstances to take harsher measures. An attempt made upon the life of the king in 1897 led to the enactment of a severe decree by which suspected anarchists were to be tried by a secret court, without an open public trial by jury, and, if found guilty, exiled to the Portuguese East Indies. The unpopularity of the decree forced Ribeiro from office later that year, but three years later he returned to the premiership again.<sup>22</sup>

Since the mid-nineteenth century the two major political parties essentially rotated positions of power. It had proven to be an effective way to retain the outward appearance of a democracy while allowing basically corrupt politicians to share the spoils of office. Between 1851 and 1889, the year Manuel was born, the Regenerators (Conservatives) had held power five separate times, while during that same period the Progressives (Liberals) had been in office seven different occasions. A brief coalition of the two parties, known as *Fusão*, had ruled the country between 1865 and 1868. From 1889 until 1906 the old rotation system continued to offer the only form of government for a country sorely in need of new and different leadership. The political parties in power, despite their names, "neither regenerated nor made progress."<sup>23</sup> All they did was argue among themselves and divide the spoils of office from time to time.

---

<sup>22</sup>Luis Vieira de Castro, D. Carlos I (Lisboa: Portugalia Editora, 1943), p. 99.

<sup>23</sup>Bragança-Cunha, Eight Centuries, p. 214. Also see Marques, History of Portugal, II, 70.

José Maria de Alpoim, the leader of the Dissident Progressives, could not be looked upon to provide any different direction. His followers, although vocal, were entirely too small in number to establish a strong viable government. The king was left with but one choice—João Franco, the leader of the Regenerator -Liberal Party. Franco was a wealthy, strong-willed politician who had led his followers to a break with the Ribeiro dominated regular Regenerators in 1902. Franco, with his slight figure, raven black hair, and swarthy eyes, looked more like an Oriental than he did a Portuguese. He was a graduate of Portugal's famous Coimbra University and had spent his life in public service. Due to sufficient private wealth, he was above public corruption and, furthermore, possessed the energy, courage, and a degree of integrity not found in most politicians.<sup>24</sup> In fact, in 1906, he appeared to be the answer to the nation's prayers. On May 15th Carlos asked him to form a ministry. For the remainder of Carlos' reign Franco ruled Portugal as a virtual dictator, although he often denied that he had created a dictatorship and declared that he was governing the country constitutionally.

The incident which led Carlos to his decision to entrust the government to Franco was a revolt which occurred aboard the Portuguese warship, the D. Carlos, and later extended to several other vessels, on April 8, 1906. Although the uprising began over questions of discipline, the mutineers led by Vasco de Carvalho, called for Carlos' abdication in favor of the Crown Prince, Luís Filipe. Ferreira do Amaral, a rear-admiral in the Portuguese navy, undertook to negotiate

---

<sup>24</sup>Payne, Spain and Portugal, II, 554.



the grievances with the revolutionaries. He went on board the D. Carlos, where he listened to their demands and persuaded them to stop the mutiny. In August 1906 those sailors who led the uprising were placed on trial by court martial, and those found guilty received prison sentences ranging from two to twenty years. According to the evidence presented at their trial no political significance was attached to the rebellion, but it left Carlos with an extremely uncomfortable feeling.<sup>25</sup>

The king felt sure that he had found the right man for the times in his selection of João Franco to be his prime minister. Franco, at first, did such a good job that he incurred the hatred of the Republicans, who were afraid he might actually resolve all the administrative difficulties and deprive them of their major weapon against the monarchy. Unfortunately for Portugal, Franco eventually succumbed to two temptations which plague almost every dictator, the use of violence and financial corruption. Franco not only antagonized the Republicans, but he proved equally unpopular with most of the members of the royal family as well, although Carlos himself never lost his faith in him.

Henry P. Fletcher, the American charge d'affairs, was an astute witness to the events taking place in Portugal in 1906. On August 25th, he wrote to the Department of State that:

Mr. Franco, on assuming charge of the Government, promised a clean administration, absolutely free elections, and a government of the people, liberal and progressive. During the four months before the elections the Civil List was reformed, unauthorized or illegal salaries and prerequisites were stopped, useless offices abolished, and the Royal allowances curtailed and Royal expenditures reduced to an accounting upon a business basis, instead of the loose and haphazard manner in which such outlays had formerly

---

<sup>25</sup>Charge d'affairs Henry P. Fletcher, September 4, 1906, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

been accounted for. In a word, reform, in so far as it could be effected by executive action, was introduced in all departments of the Government.<sup>26</sup>

Upon the platform of reforms the government went to the country with elections, held on Sunday, August 19, 1906, for the selection of members of the Chamber of Deputies. Of the 143 seats at stake, the Regenerator-Liberals secured seventy-two, a bare majority; but with the promised support of Luciano de Castro and his forty-two Progressive Deputies it was enough to form a ministry. The Republicans won four of the seats out of the fourteen available in Lisbon in what was conceded to be a fair election.<sup>27</sup> Franco did not fully appreciate the support offered by Castro and his followers, declining their help in the formulation of his program after the August elections. This alienated Castro and his party, which eventually joined forces with the Regenerators in order to thwart the prime minister's efforts. Franco, however, was a man determined to control events. Reaching the conclusion that no further good could come from submitting any of his plans to the Cortes, he assumed a dictatorial role, announcing his decision in a rather unusual manner. Asking Carlos to dissolve the Cortes, Franco announced, through the organ of his own political party, the Diario Ilustrado, that the bills which had been under consideration at the time of the dissolution would receive the full force of the law. By doing so, he virtually disavowed the very principles which he had once declared to

---

<sup>26</sup>Charge d'affairs Henry P. Fletcher, August 25, 1906, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.D.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

be essential to the government of any country.<sup>28</sup>

Franco's actions caused consternation among the nation's political leaders and was even resented by certain other segments of society as well. José Luciano de Castro, in the name of the Council of State, sought an audience with the king to issue a protest against the dissolution, but Carlos was not prepared to grant his request. Only in May 1907 did Carlos agree to receive delegates representing the two Chambers of the Cortes. Although he listened to them, he refused to believe that they were speaking in the country's best interests. His only action was to inform Franco of what they had said but he did not direct his prime minister to change his course of action in any way. Shortly thereafter, a deputation from the nation's municipal councils called upon the sovereign to protest Franco's actions and in June 1907 another group of municipal leaders to do the same, but to no avail. The king had made up his mind to endorse fully the actions of his chief minister.<sup>29</sup>

On November 11, 1907 Carlos had an interview with a leading French journalist, Joseph Galtier, which was published in the Le Temps of Paris shortly thereafter.<sup>30</sup> In the course of his conversation with Galtier, the king showed his determination to support Franco's dictatorial policies as long as necessary. Carlos, thinking that the journalist would use discretion in what he printed, spoke to him of the lack of

---

<sup>28</sup> Bragança-Cunha, Eight Centuries, p. 227.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>30</sup> The interview took place at the Citadel in Cascais while the court was in residence there. Armando Ribeiro, A Revolução Portuguesa, Vol. I (Lisboa: João Romano Torres & Co., 1914), p. 196.

character in the Portuguese, especially in their politicians, inferring that most were dishonest. The situation in the country had become impossible, Carlos felt. It had been necessary to entrust Franco with the means of governing and the dictatorship would continue in the interest of what was best for Portugal, while elections would not be held until the king and his chief minister considered that the moment was opportune. Carlos concluded that his aim was to maintain peace and order and that the dictatorship would be abolished only when that goal had been fully realized. The Le Temps interview caused a sensation in Portugal when it appeared in reprint there, forcing the dictator to promise that elections would be held within a year. Even Carlos's usually faithful supporters expressed regrets that their king had discussed Portuguese politics in the foreign press. Some monarchists abandoned the government after the release of the interview, including the Vice Governor of the Bank of Portugal, Augusto José de Cunha, who was also the presiding officer of the upper house of the Cortes. He, along with others, moved into the ranks of the Republican Party.<sup>31</sup> What saved Carlos' throne from immediate danger was the failure of the leaders of the opposition parties to unite on a policy of resistance to the dictatorship. Their threats and petty actions tended to fortify the king and his prime minister in their resolution to continue governing Portugal without a parliament for the time being.

One of the major complaints which the opposition had against the monarchy was the matter of the king's debts. At one time, Carlos had

---

<sup>31</sup> Minister C. P. Bryan, November 19, 1907, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

heavily overdrawn from the treasury and appeared hopelessly in debt. Franco, therefore, decided that the king could sell to the Portuguese nation some royal property, the value to be determined by Carlos himself. The monarch placed a ridiculously high value upon the property, then solemnly transferred it to the nation, wiping out his obligations to the treasury by his actions. What was grossly and flagrantly dishonest about the whole transaction was that Carlos and the royal family continued to use the property as they so desired. The government, however, had issued a decree absolving the king of his debts and, later the same year, increased his annual allowance.<sup>32</sup>

Carlos, in the hope of enhancing his own prestige among his people, let it be known in mid-1907 that he planned to travel to Brazil for a State visit the following year in connection with the opening of Brazilian ports to world trade a century earlier by his greatgrandfather, João VI. Amelia was to accompany him on the trip, and one of the queen's aides even let it be known that Carlos and his consort were not ruling out a visit to the United States on their way home. Great plans were made for the visit of a Portuguese monarch to the largest Portuguese-speaking nation in the world for the first time since João's departure in 1821.<sup>33</sup>

Yet no amount of royal pomp and ceremony could hide the fact that Portugal was in a serious political crisis. Franco's response to the situation was to assume an even greater dictatorial control over

---

<sup>32</sup> Gribble, The Royal House of Portugal, p. 275.

<sup>33</sup> Minister C. P. Bryan, May 21, 1907, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

the nation. A series of decrees gave him the power that he needed to govern tyrannically. The first of these had been issued on June 20, 1907, putting an end to the nation's freedom of the press. By the provisions of the decree the government had the right to suppress any publication which it regarded as dangerous to the nation's well-being. The prime minister, by using such arbitrary powers, eventually suspended the publication of the Diário Popular (organ of the Regenerator Party), O Correio da Noite (the Progressive Party paper), and O Dia (published by the Dissident Progressives). Other newspapers, equally politically oriented and just as ardent in their denunciation as the Pais and the Liberal, met the same fate. By January 1908 most newspapers in the capital had been suspended except for publications like O Seculo and O Diário de Notícias, conservative organs generally known to support the government's viewpoint.<sup>34</sup> A second decree, dated November 21, 1907, empowered the Court of Criminal Justice to decide all political cases and to suspend the civil liberties of the parties involved during the proceedings. This decree effectively eliminated trial by jury and placed the accused in the hands of government-appointed judges. Portugal was fast becoming a police state where no one's rights were to be respected except those of the men in power. It was the final decree, signed by Carlos on January 31, 1908, which largely sealed the fate of the king, his heir, and his chosen chief minister. By its provisions, Franco's government would be allowed to expel from the country anyone committing political offenses against the kingdom. Franco's Minister of Justice, Teixeira de Abreu, went personally to Vila Viçosa, where the royal

family was in residence, to obtain the monarch's signature on the decree. Carlos, with his blind faith in his prime minister, routinely signed the document and, thus, his own death warrant.<sup>35</sup>

João Franco had not meant to be so repressive, yet he saw no alternative in dealing with the nation's tendency toward anarchy. In the end he did not resolve any of the more pressing problems, while on the other hand he lost most of his friends.

In the meantime, the Republicans gained ground, especially among the urban lower middle classes and among the more educated elements in society. A secret underground association, commonly called the Carbonaria, which had been established in 1896, expanded its activities drastically after the turn of the century. The Portuguese Carbonaria was based upon nationalist radicalism, which had been stimulated by the nation's weak international posture, and further motivated by intense anticlericalism, which it blamed for the country's backwardness. After 1904 it became increasingly hostile to the king himself and to the inept monarchy over which he presided.<sup>36</sup>

An organized plot to disrupt the government had been planned during the last few days of the month of January 1908. The Lisbon police were attacked by armed bands of men and one peace officer was killed. At the same time a number of revolvers, daggers, and rifles were found stored in various quarters in the capital. All this seemed to the nation's security officials an elaborate conspiracy against the

---

<sup>35</sup>Damião Peres, ed. História de Portugal, (8 vols., Barcelos: Portucalenes Editora, Lda., 1935), VII, 445.

<sup>36</sup>Payne, Spain and Portugal, II, 555-556.

government and led to Franco's decision to ask the king for fuller powers (those of the expulsion decree of January 31, 1908) to deal with the growing menace and to rid the country of known agitators. The decree which Carlos had signed on January 31st was retroactive, giving the government almost complete discretion in dealing not only with enemies of the State but with its political opponents as well. The Correio da Noite, the Progressive Party organ, was therefore suspended on the 31st because it had printed an article placing all the responsibility for Franco's actions squarely upon the king himself. Numerous arrests were made throughout the capital in the last few days of January. Among those apprehended was Affonso Costa, the most militant of all the Republican Deputies in the last session of the Cortes. José de Alpoim, the Dissident leader, managed to escape to Spain just in time to prevent his arrest, while Bernardino Machado, the nominal head of the Republican Party, left the capital to avoid the police.<sup>37</sup>

Carlos had failed on at least two efforts to bring the changes in government he so earnestly desired. First, he made enemies of the Republicans, especially the intellectuals who could have done the government so much good. Second, he gave honest Republicans a convenient excuse for opposing him by placing absolute power in the hands of one man and by undertaking some rather shady financial deals to replenish his own pocketbook. Carlos' failures were summed up in the comments of one Republican shortly before Carlos' death when he said, "the monarchy can get no men to do its work because all the intellectuals have joined the

---

<sup>37</sup> Sir Francis Villiers, February 1, 1908, to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Office Dispatches (F. O. 371/509), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.



Republican Party. For that very sufficient reason the monarchy is nearing its end."<sup>38</sup>

By 1908 Franco's opponents in Portugal felt strong enough to move against the corrupt monarchy which he perpetuated. The original plans called for the seizure of the Ministry of the Interior, which would place all telegraph and telephone facilities in their hands. With these communication outlets under control, a Republic could be proclaimed throughout the nation without the necessity of open warfare and bloody fighting. It was a novel idea, but it failed to take into account the loyalty of the Portuguese armed forces to the government and so it failed to materialize. The conspiracy was discovered shortly before the first of February and many of its leaders were arrested by the police, including three of the four Republican Deputies who represented Lisbon in the Cortes. The discovery of that depository of weapons, many acquired from junk and pawn shops, caused serious alarm among government leaders. Arrests continued to be made by the officials up to the very day of the royal family's return from their usual winter holiday at Vila Viçosa. It appeared to many of the diplomatic observers in the capital that by February 1st Franco was once again the master of the situation.<sup>39</sup>

On February 1, 1908 the king and his family departed for Lisbon on board the special green and gold royal train. The Diário Ilustrado and other newspapers still in existence on that day announced that the

---

<sup>38</sup>Gribble, The Royal House of Portugal, p. 287.

<sup>39</sup>Sir Francis Villiers, February 1, 1908, to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Office Dispatches (F. O. 371/974), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.

royal family had left Vila Viçosa and were expected to arrive in Lisbon around 4 o'clock that afternoon. Due to a slight breakdown on the railroad line at Casa Branca, the royal train was late in reaching Barreiro, its terminal on the opposite bank of the Tagus from Lisbon, arriving an hour later than scheduled. The royal family then boarded the small ferry-boat Dom Luis for the crossing to Lisbon, where they arrived at the landing stage shortly after 5 o'clock. Upon their arrival they were met by Franco and members of his ministry, along with various court dignitaries. Carlos, alarmed by all the unrest which had been reported to him within the last few days, asked his prime minister if he felt it was safe for the royal family to drive through the streets of the city in an open carriage to the palace. The king was assured by the dictator that it would be a perfectly safe journey. Placing faith once again in Franco's promises, the sovereigns, joined by their two sons, entered a two-horse landau for the ride home. Just as the vehicle turned the corner from the Praca do Commercio into the Rua do Arsenal, a group of men on the corner ran forward with drawn firearms and poured a volley of bullets into the carriage containing the royal family. One bullet struck the king in the nape of the neck and passed out through his throat, cutting his carotid artery. Another one hit him in the shoulder. The Crown Prince immediately drew his own revolver but was struck by two bullets before he could fire. Manuel received a bullet wound in his right arm. Carlos died instantly from the wound in his throat, while Luis Filipe lived for about twenty minutes.<sup>40</sup> Queen

---

<sup>40</sup>Luis Filipe was technically King of Portugal (Dom Luis II) for a few minutes following his father's death.

Amelia survived the attack untouched by the bullets, using a bouquet of flowers to strike at the assailants. The king's brother Affonso and some aides-de-camp who were riding in an automobile behind the royal coach, drew their weapons and opened fire on the assassins where they stood, wounding some of the spectators in the process. The coachman, Bento Caparica, proceeded with haste to the Marine Arsenal where medical facilities were available, but no amount of attention could revive the dead monarch nor save his mortally wounded son.<sup>41</sup>

The assassins were pursued at once by the police. One of the men was thrust through the body with a sword by a cavalry officer and immediately blew out his own brains with a revolver. The regicides were later identified as Alfredo da Costa, who had fired the shots into Carlos' body, and Manuel Buiça, who was responsible for the murder of the heir. A third man had been killed by the gunfire. He was identified as Sabino da Costa, age twenty-two, who had been born on the island of Madeira and had immigrated to Lisbon where he worked as a clerk. As far as the authorities could determine he was an innocent by-stander who simply got caught up in the ensuing events.<sup>42</sup>

Manuel dos Reis da Silva Buiça was a thirty-one year old professor who had taught at the National College in Lisbon for ten years, establishing a good reputation among his colleagues and his pupils. Alfredo Luis da Castro, twenty-four, was a well-educated young man who at the time of the assassination was working as a clerk, having previously

---

<sup>41</sup>"The Assassination of the King of Portugal," Independent 64 (February 6, 1908), p. 278.

<sup>42</sup>Diário Ilustrado (Lisbon), February 5, 1908, p. 2.

been employed as a newspaper correspondent and editor of a weekly journal. Little was known of the two men's political views but it did not appear that they were the tools of any organized party or that they had accomplices in their crime. They seemed to have been their own agents of destruction, motivated by the spirit of universal protest against the despotic decrees of the Franco regime which affected them as much as they did the more conspicuous opponents of the government. Buiça's will, drawn up a few days prior to the regicide, was published in O Mundo later that year. It sheds some light upon the thinking of the professor involved in the double death:

My children will be left in the poorest circumstances; I have nothing to leave them besides my name and the respect and pity for those who suffer. I beg that they may be educated in the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, principles which I uphold and in the cause of which they are soon likely to become orphans.<sup>43</sup>

The assassins, Buiça and Costa, were buried in the cemetery of Alto de São João a few days after the tragedy, their graves covered with flowers from many Portuguese who acknowledged them as national heroes. They became the patron saints of Republicanism. The State funeral for the other two victims was held on February 8, 1908. A number of foreign princes and ambassadors were present, including the Duke of Connaught (representing his brother, Edward VII), Prince Fernando of Bavaria (representing his brother-in-law, Alfonso XIII of Spain), Prince Eitel of Prussia (for his father, William II of Germany), the Count of Turin (Victor Emmanuel III's representative), and Prince William of

---

<sup>43</sup> Sir Francis Villiers, November 5, 1908, to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Office Dispatches (F.O. 371/509), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England. Taken from a copy of O Mundo, October 28, 1908, in the files of the Foreign Office.

Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who would later become the new king's father-in-law. Manuel had received all the special envoys that morning at the palace. His demeanor under such trying circumstances made a favorable impression on all those present. When he reached the American minister, Charles Page Bryan, the youthful king broke down completely for a few moments, remembering as he did the envoy's long association with his father and brother. He shortly gained his composure and continued on down the receiving line. Neither the new sovereign nor his mother and grandmother attended the funeral services. It was felt best not to expose them to any unnecessary dangers. Manuel's wound was only a superficial one, enabling him to sign state papers by the 5th of the month, although he still wore his arm in a sling at the time.<sup>44</sup>

João Franco's dictatorship ended with Carlos' tragic death. He fell from power almost at once. The young king had originally thought of retaining him, but the remaining members of the family were opposed. When Franco left the palace following the assassination he was no longer the king's minister. His nerves shattered by the experience, Franco was a broken man fleeing from public life.<sup>45</sup>

Manuel, still a teenager, found himself suddenly and helplessly saddled with overwhelming responsibilities. Never expecting to inherit the throne, he had planned on a naval career. Now he was the king, handicapped by both his youth and lack of training for the duties of the position. That factor, in itself, was one of the basic causes of the

---

<sup>44</sup>Minister C. P. Bryan, February 11, 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>45</sup>Gribble, The Royal House of Portugal, p. 288.

downfall of the monarchy in 1910. As one scholar noted, "The Portuguese monarchy had effectively expired with King Carlos, for Manuel was not an heir but an orphan."<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup>João Ameal, História de Portugal (Oporto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1962), p. 752.

### CHAPTER III

#### MANUEL II'S REIGN, 1908-1910

Manuel II was only eighteen years old when he assumed the responsibility of governing Portugal. Of his thirty-three predecessors, he was the twelfth monarch to succeed to the throne before reaching the age of twenty. It was obvious from subsequent evidence that the assassins had planned to eliminate the entire royal family the afternoon of February 1, 1908. The accident to the train and its consequent delay had saved the queen and her younger son from almost certain death. A bomb was discovered later under the platform of the landing stage in the Praça do Commercio, the explosive device having become submerged by the rising tide shortly before the royal party arrived.<sup>1</sup> The conspiracy had failed to completely eradicate the members of the ruling family. The army remained loyal to the new king, the monarchial parties reaffirmed their support, and the Portuguese people passively accepted the change in sovereigns. The downfall of the notorious Franco regime was sufficient for the time-being. The nation seemed to approve the actions of the assassins, many looking upon them as patriots who had succeeded in restoring law and ending arbitrary rule. What they had accomplished was hailed by some as an act of

---

<sup>1</sup>Minister C. P. Bryan, February 15, 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

legitimate self-defense against Franco's increasing tyranny. The new king's task was to maintain what support he could muster from the tragedy and to repair the image of the monarchy as soon as possible. It was a formidable mission. O Seculo, a serious and impartial Lisbon morning paper, expressed it best when it stated: "Senhor Dom Manuel must make no mistake. He has a kingdom to conquer. Let him conquer it if he can with the only weapon which disarms a Portuguese—with the heart."<sup>2</sup>

Manuel never achieved the goal of conquering his kingdom, although the next thirty-one months of his life he tried to win the hearts of his subjects.

Manuel's first duty was the formation of a new ministry. Joao Franco, who was sensitive about his part in the royal tragedy, submitted his resignation to the young king on February 2, 1908. Manuel found it necessary to accept the resignation which his father's trusted minister handed him or provoke further family disapproval. The monarch then retired to his study in the palace for a conference with José Luciano de Castro, a man to whom the late king had often turned for advice. A journalist by profession, Castro was the recognized leader of the Progressive Party. He had twice served Manuel's father as prime minister. Ill health had recently forced him to play a less active role in Portuguese politics but he still served as a member of the Council of State. At the meeting with Manuel on February 2nd, Castro immediately proposed the idea of offering the position of chief of any new ministry to Admiral Francisco Joaquim Ferreira do Amaral, a neutral figure in

---

<sup>2</sup>Sir Francis Villiers, February 11, 1908, to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Office Dispatches (F. O. 371/509), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.



political circles who would be able to form a non-partisan cabinet. Amaral, who had served as a minister previously for a brief period, was considered independent in political matters and could provide the balance needed to reestablish confidence in the government. Manuel agreed with Castro's suggestion and returned to the adjoining room to inform the fallen dictator of his decision. Franco, weary from lack of sleep, supported the efforts to create an independent ministry. He then paid his final respects to Portugal's new king and left the Necessidades Palace with his outgoing Minister of War, Colonel Vasconcelos Porto. That afternoon Amaral was asked to form a new cabinet.<sup>3</sup>

It was decided that Amaral would create a "Ministry of Concentration," which would bring together various political factions who could help return the nation to a more regular and constitutional course. Manuel had decided to begin his reign by combining all the supporters of the monarchy in a defense against the enemies, not through usurpation of powers but by joint effort. The ministry which the admiral headed was to seek the support of the leaders of the various monarchial parties, beseeching them to suspend their feuds in the face of serious threats to the institution of the monarchy itself.<sup>4</sup>

The Amaral cabinet, the first of six during Manuel II's brief reign, was composed of members of the various parties as well as some independents. This Ministry of Concentration would direct the nation's affairs until the end of the year. Amaral felt little responsibility

---

<sup>3</sup> Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, pp. 18-19.

<sup>4</sup> Minister C. P. Bryan, March 24, 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

for any of his shortcomings or failures, tending to blame those who had compelled him to assume the burdens in the first place. The Republican organ, O Mundo, was quick to criticize the king's new government, pointing out that it possessed the curse of both the Regenerator and Progressive parties.<sup>5</sup>

Manuel began his reign by repudiating those actions of his father which had given the most offence to his people. On the same day that he accepted Franco's resignation, the new king issued a proclamation to the Portuguese people setting forth the aspirations for his reign:

Portuguese! An abominable outrage has oppressed with the deepest bitterness my heart as son and brother. I know that the nation shares my grief and abhors this horrible, dastardly crime, which is unprecedented in history. I am summoned by the Constitution to preside over the destinies of the Kingdom, and in this task I will employ all my efforts for the welfare of the country, and to deserve the love of the Portuguese people.

I swear to maintain the Catholic religion and the integrity of the Kingdom, and to observe and cause to be observed the political constitution of the nation. I further declare that it pleases me to retain in office the present ministers.<sup>6</sup>

That evening he presided over the first formal meeting of the Council of State. José Luciano de Castro, speaking on behalf of the Councillors of State, tendered to the young monarch the Council's sincere condolences and wished the king a happy and prosperous reign. Manuel's reply was in effect a plea for guidance and assistance from

---

<sup>5</sup>For a complete list of Amaral's cabinet see Diário Ilustrado, February 5, 1908, p. 1. For the Republican comments see O Mundo, February 5, 1908, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Mirando, O Último Rei, pp. 137-138. Although drawn up on the first of the month it was not issued until the following day. The last statement revealed Manuel's original intention of retaining Franco in office before he changed his mind.

the collective minds of the Councillors. He said, "I am without knowledge or experience. I place myself in your hands, counting upon your patriotism and wisdom." Following the Council meeting the king and his mother held a long conference with Castro and the new Regenerator leader, Julio de Vilhena, to work out the ground rules for the creation of the Amaral ministry.<sup>7</sup>

On February 5, 1908, concerned over the charges of illegal actions by his family relating to the Civil List, the new king drafted the first of many letters to his first prime minister.

As by Article 80 of the Charter of the Constitution the Cortes must fix the amount of the King's Civil List at the beginning of each reign, and wishing that the Parliament should be entirely free to decide the question, it is my firm intention that the administration of the Royal House shall not employ any sums which have not received parliamentary sanction.<sup>8</sup>

The king made it clear that he wished the financial affairs of his family to be based upon parliamentary approval.

At a meeting of the Council of Ministers on February 6th it was decided to recommend to King Manuel an annulment of the various decrees which Franco had pressed upon the late king and the Portuguese people. When the meeting ended at 7 o'clock that evening Prime Minister Amaral took the council's recommendation to the sovereign for his endorsement. Manuel was pleased with the action taken and declared that his purpose was to remain ever faithful to the Constitution and under no circumstances revert to a dictatorship.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Times (London), February 4, 1908, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup>Augusto Ferreira do Amaral, A Acalmação e Dom Manuel II (Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1966), p. 275.

<sup>9</sup>Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, p. 22.

By his action Manuel invalidated the decrees of June 20 (abolition of freedom of the press) and November 21 (suspension of civil liberties), 1907, and the one of January 31 (expulsion of political enemies), 1908. A number of Republicans confined in different prisons throughout the country, including Cortes Deputies and journalists, were released as a result. On the 7th of February the king issued an edict extending amnesty to the sailors who had taken part in the mutiny of April 1906. In the preamble to the decree Manuel stated: "It is my most sincere desire to initiate my reign by making use of the prerogative of pardon vested in me by the Constitution."<sup>10</sup> The Council of State gave its approval to the monarch's actions on February 12th. The amnesty made an exceptionally good impression upon the Portuguese people; even the rather critical Republican organs were influenced by the general atmosphere of good will.<sup>11</sup>

On February 17th, Manuel held a long conference at the palace, in the company of his mother, with José Maria de Alpoim, the Dissident leader who best represented organized political opposition to the late dictatorship. Alpoim had been granted the audience at his own request, and he made the most emphatic declaration of devotion to the monarchy. He asked nothing for himself, except that he should no longer be persecuted for holding liberal opinions. The meeting represented Manuel's earnest desire to talk with all the various political elements within

---

<sup>10</sup>Times (London), February 7, 1908, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup>Minister C. P. Bryan, February 25, 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

his kingdom while espousing the cause of no particular man or party.<sup>12</sup>

Only Portugal's Republicans, convinced of the ultimate triumph of their cause, had no desire or intention of joining forces with the weak young ruler. The Republican press continued its attacks, even glorifying the assassins as national heroes. Bernardino Machado, the recognized leader of the party, tried to explain that pilgrimages to the graves of the regicides were mere forms of sentimentalism and in no way directed against the monarchy, but he did not speak for many members of his party.<sup>13</sup>

Manuel, asserting himself more, presided over a meeting of the Council of State on February 27th which deliberated and decided to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, calling for new elections to be held on the 5th of April. The Council decreed that the newly elected parliament would convene on April 29, 1908 with an opening address by the king.<sup>14</sup>

One of the more pressing problems confronting the new king was that of the nation's finances. The downfall of Joao Franco had done nothing to resolve the financial situation. The most serious aspect of the crisis stemmed from alleged violations of the Civil List. On March 31st Manuel had a conference with Manuel Afonso de Espregueira, Minister of Finance, with regard to the financial relations between the Royal Household and the Treasury. Manuel agreed to sell at auction a number of the horses which the royal family no longer needed, and to

---

<sup>12</sup>Times (London), February 19, 1908, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup>Times (London), February 21, 1908, p. 9

<sup>14</sup>Amaral, A Acalmação, p. 140.

conduct a scrupulous inventory of crown jewels and other possessions of the royal family to determine which could be sold. Manuel was determined, as he had indicated in his letter to Amaral, to live within the royal allowance as set by the Cortes.<sup>15</sup>

In February, shortly after ascending the throne, Manuel received a number of threatening letters promising him the same fate as his deceased father and brother. They appeared to be the work of some mentally deranged persons rather than an organized revolutionary conspiracy, although one of them said that a group of anarchists planned to kill the king unless he retired from Portugal.<sup>16</sup> The result of such threats was that Manuel was advised to remain in his Lisbon palace where he could be guarded day and night by mounted patrols. This action unfortunately prevented the young monarch from any close association with his subjects, thereby denying him a chance to win their love and respect. Charles Page Bryan, the American minister, was firmly convinced that if Manuel's advisors would allow him to appear in public, "his great charm, which so favorably impresses all visitors, whether native or foreign, would enthuse his well wishers and disarm all personal antagonism to him."<sup>17</sup>

On April 5, 1908, elections were held for the first time since the reign of King Carlos. Rigged to give the monarchical elements

---

<sup>15</sup> Times (London), April 1, 1908, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Times (London), April 1, 1908, p. 7. For an account of the threats see José Almeida, Marques de Lavradio, Memórias do Sexto Marquês de Lavradio (Lisboa: Edicoes Atica, 1967), p. 112. Hereafter cited as Lavradio, Memoirs.

<sup>17</sup> Minister C. P. Bryan, March 24, 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Was ington, D.C.

dominance once again, the results were not surprising. Of the 137 representatives elected to the Chamber of Deputies, sixty-one were members of the Regenerator Party and fifty-nine of the Progressive Party (with seven additional Dissident Progressives led by Alpoim being elected), while the Republicans secured only seven seats. What made the election different from previous ones was the violence which occurred at several polling places that day. Elections were generally conducted in the vestry of each parish church. Throughout the morning the utmost quiet prevailed. Then in the afternoon unrest occurred in some of the rougher urban districts of Lisbon when hoodlums, wearing red cravats as a badge of their Republicanism, surrounded certain polls and began to attack local authorities. Bitter encounters ensued between them and the monarchists. In one ward, a Republican was shot and killed after he and his followers attacked and stoned the police. At the Church of San Domingos a priest, who had arranged some religious ceremony for that evening, refused to allow the usual precautions for safeguarding the ballot boxes to be employed in the sacristy. He ordered everyone to leave the premises. This was regarded by the multitude as an effort to manipulate or tamper with the ballots. General disorder followed and violent encounters between the police and the mob resulted in the death of nine persons and more than fifty wounded. Troops were called out to disperse the crowds and order was restored. The Republican press immediately issued calls for vengeance, forcing the government to guard all the city's principal streets and squares with troops. Conservative Republicans disavowed their organ's incendiary articles and called for

calm.<sup>18</sup> Some 106 arrests were made during the disturbances, many of them for attacks on the police and cavalry. The demonstrators had torn up the paving stones of the streets and thrown them at the troops guarding the Church of San Domingos. Not until two days later was complete order restored. The disturbances in Lisbon did not affect Oporto or other cities,<sup>19</sup> but the monarchy and the king suffered much from the appalling tragedy. Manuel's advisors became even more fearful for the young king's life after the election day unrest and forced him to remain a virtual prisoner in his Lisbon palace.

Manuel finally convinced the members of his entourage of the need for him to appear in public if the power and prestige of the monarchy were to survive. They reluctantly agreed and the young king made his first appearance since his accession on April 25th when he attended a memorial service in honor of his father and brother at the monastery in Belem. Extensive precautions were taken to safeguard the king and his mother. Yet this seemed hardly necessary since the streets and squares through which the procession passed were almost completely empty. The Republican press had urged its readers to avoid all participation in the ceremony, which it described as a private family matter. Following the celebration of the Mass, an eloquent memorial sermon was delivered by Canon Ayres Pacheco. In his comments the clergyman remarked that Carlos was not to blame for the misfortunes of Portugal for they were of a much earlier origin. The late king had only received the

---

<sup>18</sup>Minister C. P. Bryan, April 16, 1908, to Secretary of Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>19</sup>Times (London), April 8, 1908, p. 7.



troublesome inheritance of a kingdom already in decay, burdened with debt, without vigilant administrators, and almost without statesmen. Carlos had chosen a man who had the qualities which the monarch considered sufficient for the task of rebuilding Portugal—honesty, firmness, and energy. The Canon closed his remarks with the thought that the spirit of the assassinated sovereign was appealing to the Portuguese people to close ranks around the youthful king in loyalty and patriotic love. The sermon produced a powerful impression upon those assembled for the occasion, although it had little effect upon the multitudes who were not present. It had been a strong indictment of the influences which prevented Carlos from using his better judgment and which had brought the country to the verge of ruin.<sup>20</sup>

Religion had always been a dominant factor in Manuel's life. He had been reared in strict conformity with the teachings of the Roman Catholic faith and in his coronation oath he swore to faithfully uphold it. Manuel regarded himself as a true Christian who had been ordained by God to govern Portugal. He was fully convinced that one day he would have to answer to that Supreme Being for his actions. It was not the fact that the king himself observed his Christian faith so sincerely that worried his most ardent critics, but the religious influences that surrounded him. There was a constant dread that the piousness of Queen Amelia, known herself to be a devout follower of the Church, might force the king to undertake some repressive or reactionary stance. Despite her previous acts of heroism and her devotion to the unfortunate citizens

---

<sup>20</sup> Sir Francis Villiers, April 29, 1908, to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Office Dispatches (F. O. 800/24), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.

of the realm, the queen was regarded by some in Portugal as a dangerous woman, intolerant enough to restore the rule of the Jesuits if given the chance, with all the attending horrors of an inquisition. This was, of course, an exaggeration, but it served the king's enemies well. They spread the fear of the queen's influence over her young son to aid their own cause.<sup>21</sup> Yet Manuel continued to attend mass on a regular basis, to observe religious holidays, and to correspond with numerous clergymen from the highest ranking bishops to the lowest parish priests. He regarded it as part of his constitutional duties to protect and defend the established religion of his kingdom. As long as he was king he would faithfully exercise that obligation.<sup>22</sup>

On April 29, 1908, amid archaic pomp and ceremony, Manuel formally opened the first Cortes of his reign. He swore to respect and uphold the Constitution and made an appeal to the loyalty of his subjects, calling for a union between the Portuguese people and their king. Attendance for the occasion was limited to high officials and special guests. The Cortes building was guarded by regiments of the army with orders to prevent access to the neighboring squares. Every possible precaution was taken to ensure the king's safety, but in so doing these measures prevented the ruler from coming into contact with his people. Inside the Chamber of Deputies, Manuel mounted a specially prepared throne and read his personal message to the members of the Cortes:

---

<sup>21</sup>Minister C. P. Bryan, August 3, 1909, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>22</sup>The material in the Arquivo Nacional de Lisboa relating to Manuel II contains numerous letters to priests during the 1908-1910 period.

Honorable Peers of the Kingdom and Deputies of the Portuguese nation, the same human and civic idea unites us all at this moment and permeates the feeling of sorrow which survives the tragic disappearance of my father and brother, our King and our Prince. It is not for me to praise the memory of the late monarch, much less to dilate upon the hopes in which his successor has inherited his traditions and his name. I invoke this terrible martyrdom at this first meeting of the Crown and Parliament as a sign of alliance which should rally all to the cause of the peace and progress of our nation. Our deep sorrow has brought together the sympathies of the Chiefs of State, of the legislative bodies, and of the Press of the entire world in a common cry inspired by humanity and justice. From the afflicted heart of the nation there arose a protest of loyalty to the Royal Family and to the country's established institutions which reaffirmed the ancient traditions of union between the people and the King. May this union, concentrating the energies of all in a supreme effort, now give us strength to bear the weight of the responsibility of power and of the destinies of the country.

This deed, the like of which has never been seen, has brought me to the Throne for the accomplishment of a dynastic and national duty. I place my faith in God and in you, the representatives of the nation, that, with your help, I may fulfill this mission well. I can assure you that I shall cooperate in promoting the happiness of the Kingdom, to which my life and actions are henceforth devoted. I shall try to seek inspiration in the example of Sovereigns who are a glory to Monarchy, a blessing to the nations, and a living lesson in the art of reigning. I shall rule, I swear it, as the law directs. We are living in peace and friendship with the Powers, who but so short a time ago sent us Princes and Missions to sympathize in our sorrows and misfortunes, while Great Britain, the nation allied to us, and Spain, the friendly nation that is our neighbor, also sent ships to visit us on behalf of their fleets. In the sister nation, Brazil, the demonstrations of grief were such as to amount almost to national mourning. I thank all from the bottom of my heart for such eloquent testification of sympathy.<sup>23</sup>

One week later, on May 6, 1908, Manuel's acclamation ceremony involved a complete change in the program adopted for his other public outings. The streets were crowded with his subjects as he drove in the State coach from the palace to the Parliament building for his coronation ceremony. The day was proclaimed a public holiday throughout the kingdom, and despite warnings from the Republican press for the people to have

---

<sup>23</sup> Diário do Governo (Lisbon), April 30, 1908, p. 1.

nothing to do with the celebrations, the citizens thronged the streets of Lisbon to catch a glimpse of their new king. Inside the Cortes Manuel placed his hand on a priceless seventeenth century Catholic missal and swore "to maintain the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, to observe and cause to be observed the political Constitution of the Portuguese nation and the laws of the Kingdom, and to promote the general welfare of the nation as far as in me lies."<sup>24</sup>

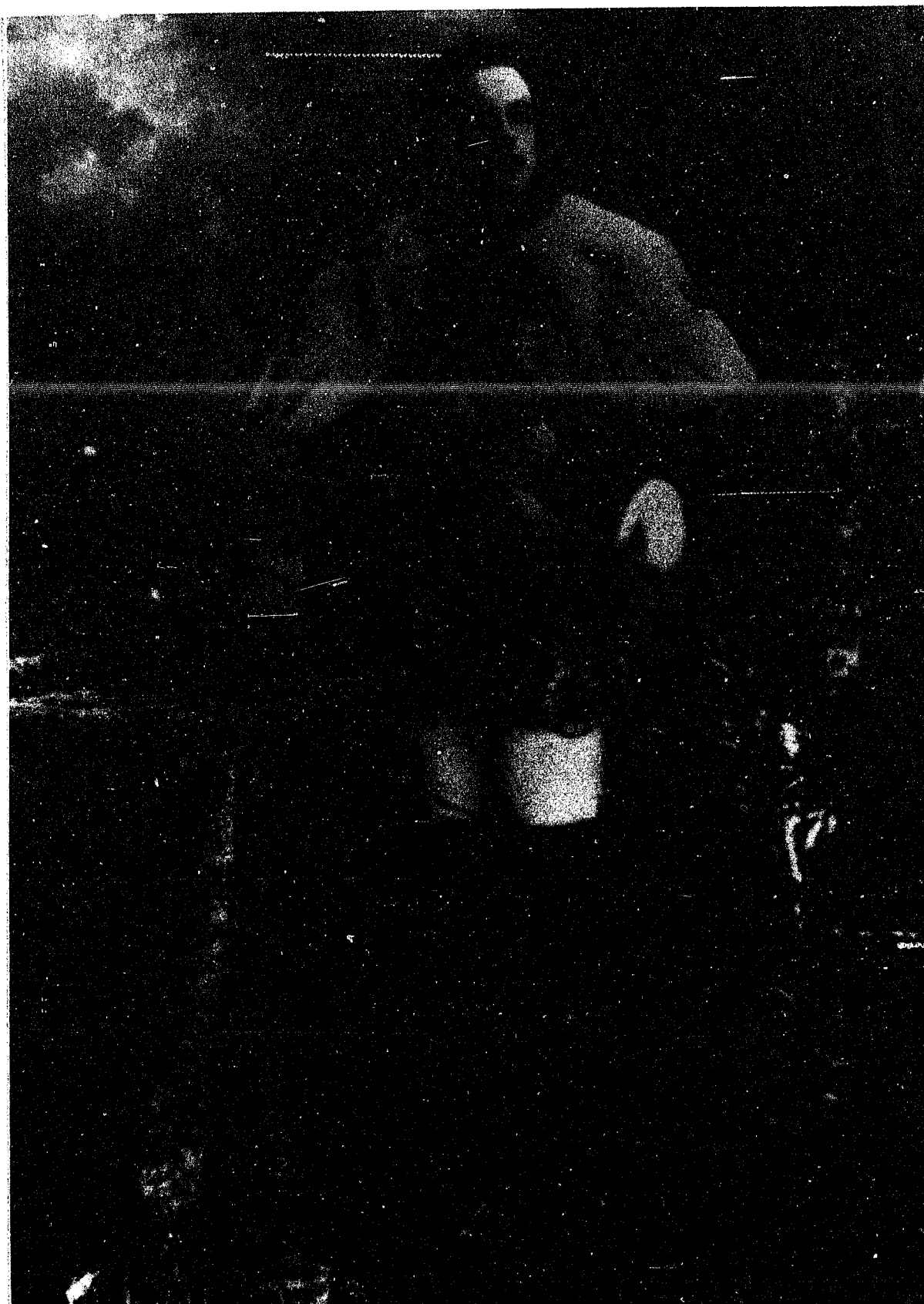
With the royal crown (made of Brazilian gold for Joao VI in 1817) upon his head, Manuel then delivered a short address to those present, after which the President of the Chamber of Deputies pronounced the acclamation of "the most high, powerful, and faithful King of Portugal, Senhor Dom Manuel II." A succession of ovations marked the king's return route to the palace where well into the night Manuel and his mother were the recipients of the affectionate demonstrations of the people. Minister Bryan reported to the American Department of State that "the pall that hung over the palace and the city seems to have been definitely lifted."<sup>25</sup>

Manuel's coronation and recent public appearances did indeed seem to enhance the monarchical cause and "lift the pall" hanging over his throne. Manifestations of loyalty were extended to the sovereign by numerous delegations of his subjects. On May 27th a large deputation of university students from Coimbra arrived in Lisbon for the purpose

---

<sup>24</sup> Manuel's Juramento can be found in Gaveta 32, Maço 1, N.5, Arquivo Nacional, Lisboa. For a complete account of his acclamation see Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, pp. 57-62.

<sup>25</sup> Minister C. P. Bryan, May (no specific date given), 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.



DOM MANUEL IN HIS CORONATION REGALIA

of presenting an address to their king. Their reception at the palace was marked by great enthusiasm. The culminating point of the visit came when Manuel, at the conclusion of a short speech of welcome, exclaimed that they were all young together and must combine to work for the benefit of the nation. Manuel was so pleased with the students' support that on June 15th he wrote a letter to the Bishop of Coimbra expressing his immense pleasure at being able to receive the students.<sup>26</sup>

Manuel's popularity with certain segments of Portuguese society did not extend to all his subjects. On May 29th Alexandre Braga, the Republican Deputy, made a venomous and abusive speech in the Cortes not directed so much at the king himself as at the man he had chosen to preside over his first ministry. Braga, in his angry remarks, attacked Franco's dictatorship and the Amaral government, and accused the monarchical politicians of having killed one king and of alienating the affections of the people from his successor. If the prime minister were as true a friend of the new king, Braga suggested, he would do well to undertake Manuel's practical education and speak to the "boy." What seemed to be at the base of the attack was the Republicans' displeasure over the king's recent public appearances which had met with a most cordial reception. The protestations of loyalty to the crown had irritated the Republican Party.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup>Rodríguez Cavalheiro, ed., Cartas de Sua Majestade A Rainha Senhora Dona Amelia A. D. Manuel de Bastos Pina (Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editôra, 1948), p. 256. Hereafter cited as Amerlia's Cartas.

<sup>27</sup>Sir Francis Villiers, June 2, 1908, to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Office Dispatches (F. O. 3/1/509), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.

The Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 101-17 on June 9, 1908, endorsed a reply to the Speech from the Throne delivered on April 29th. In its response, the Cortes expressed confidence in Prime Minister Amaral's ministry and its hope that the government would carry out the program set forth in the king's speech. This seemingly complete support was, however, to be brief. Almost immediately questions were raised once again relating to the Civil List and the nation's financial situation. Throughout June the Portuguese Parliament was preoccupied with the question of the sums advanced by the Treasury to the royal family during Carlos' reign. Finance Minister Espregueira came under vigorous attack from both the Dissidents and the Republicans, not for any wrong-doing during the present administration, but for misconduct during a previous term in the Finance ministry. Both parties demanded his immediate resignation and were joined by the popular Lisbon newspaper, O Seculo. In a revealing article the paper declared that there were "payments which have accumulated from year to year, veritable drafts on the future made to persons who, without being strictly members of the royal family, do not stand far from it. There are loans in anticipation of salary, made to bureaucrats who if they lived 100 years could never pay their debts. . . . It is not enough to clear up the questions of advances to the Royal Family; it is necessary that we should know also how and for whose benefit public money has been squandered by unlawful methods and with shameless nepotism."<sup>28</sup> Manuel, much disturbed by such accusations, decided to have the Diário de Notícias publish a list of the sums advanced. The list revealed

---

<sup>28</sup>Times (London), June 22, 1908, p. 7.

that since the 1830's all the monarchical parties, during their term in office, had committed the very acts which they now unanimously condemned. No party—with the exception of the Republicans who had never held office—was above reproach. The opposition political parties were simply following the Republican lead and seizing upon the opportunity to embarrass the government by attacking the crown. Queen Amelia offered to reimburse the Treasury out of her own private fortune the amount advanced to her during her husband's lifetime for trips abroad and Manuel let it be known that he planned to repay every cent which his father had been advanced during his reign. The Republicans, by attacking the royal family's financial situation, sought to win support for their cause through the only channel which would shake the apathy of the masses. The poorer classes could be aroused to protest against the existing form of government only by arguments related to the extravagant monetary practices of the nation's ruling class. Manuel was doing such a sound job in the careful execution of his constitutional duties that his opponents could find little to criticize. They therefore turned their attacks upon his late father, an effort which hurt the young king both personally and politically.<sup>29</sup>

On June 22, 1908 there was an excited exchange in the Chamber of Deputies between the Republican Braga and Minister Espregueira regarding the advances made to the royal family which resulted in a challenge to a duel between the two men. A last minute reconciliation worked out by the President of the Chamber prevented any actual

---

<sup>29</sup> Minister C. P. Bryan, July 14, 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.



confrontation and the House adjourned until June 30th. On July 16th, after further debate, the Chamber finally passed a settlement bill. The royal family's Civil List was reduced somewhat and a number of royal residences hitherto maintained by the crown were to be taken over by the Treasury. These included the seldom-used palaces of Belem, Caxias, and Queluz, as well as the Museum of Old Coaches established by Queen Amelia near Belem. The Civil List bill also provided that the king's official journeys, at home and abroad, and reception of foreign Heads of State, would be paid for by the Treasury, when sanctioned by the government. The royal family for its part would reimburse the Treasury in yearly installments of at least five per cent interest for any outstanding debts. The bill was approved by a vote of 82 to 14 and sent to the upper chamber for its endorsement. After some additional debate in that body, it was adopted by a vote of 60 to 3 on August 22nd.<sup>30</sup> Finance was not Manuel's only problem when he became king.

Africa still posed difficulties for Portugal's new monarch. Under Franco the general policy in regard to the Portuguese possessions in Africa had been to allow the various governors-general to do as they pleased as long as they did not ask Lisbon for money. The government, in effect, abdicated its powers in favor of the provincial authorities. Ayres d'Ornellas, Minister of Marine and Colonies under Carlos, did not wish to exercise any direct control.<sup>31</sup> In the 1908-1910 period the

---

<sup>30</sup>Charge d'affairs Ernest Rennie, August 25, 1908, to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Office Dispatches (F. O. 371/509), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.

<sup>31</sup>Richard J. Hammond, Portugal and Africa, 1815-1910 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 279, 283-284, 289, 336-337.

policies of Ornellas were not only halted by the government but reversed. His successor, Augusto de Castilho, a conservative of the old school, issued a decree in November 1908 which restored most of the authority over colonial budgets to the Ministry of Finance. Ornellas' concept of colonial independence was a doctrine too revolutionary for the bureaucrats in Lisbon to accept after Franco's downfall. Punitive operations were once again launched against the Dembos in Angola in 1908 and 1909. The Bengalas also offered resistance and were attacked by the Portuguese authorities in raids regarded as necessary under the new policies.

There is no evidence to suggest that Manuel condoned or was even aware of some of the brutal tactics employed by the government forces in his African possessions. Pressed as he was with problems at home, he had little time to devote to his overseas territories. One reason for lack of any systematic surveillance on his part might have been the fact that during the thirty-two months of his reign, Portugal had no fewer than five Ministers of Marine and Colonies. Moreover, colonial affairs had the lowest priority in ministerial discussions. Matters concerning the Ministry of Marine were the last to be presented and discussed, if they were considered at all.<sup>32</sup>

By the autumn of 1908 Manuel was beginning to feel more at ease in his role as a constitutional monarch. On September 9th he presided over a meeting of the Council of State which ratified the legislation enacted by the Cortes before its recess. Having confined himself largely to the capital and its environs since ascending the throne,

---

<sup>32</sup>Ibid. On the subject of Portugal's African possessions also see James Duffy, Portuguese Africa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

Manuel announced on the 19th of September that he planned to depart shortly for the north of Portugal, where he would spend some twelve days visiting the cities of that region. November was eventually selected as the month for the trip whose objective was to expose Manuel to more of his subjects. Before leaving Lisbon the king desired to establish better relations, if possible, with his government's political opponents, especially those led by Julio de Vilhena. Vilhena, Ribeiro's replacement as leader of the Regenerator Party, was eager for power himself and inclined to do anything within his means to undermine the existing ministry. On October 5th Vilhena was invited to the Pena Palace in Sintra for an audience with the king following a letter which he had addressed to Manuel on October 2nd noting his displeasure at not being consulted on the monarchical decision not to participate in the municipal elections scheduled for the first of November. He was angry that the prime minister had dared to act without hearing his opinion on the subject. In his conversation with Manuel the Regenerator leader suggested that he had serious reservations about continued support for the Amaral government and suggested that the king consider appointing a new ministry under his leadership. He would be prepared to retain Lima and Henriques in their present posts, but would insist on naming other members of his own party to positions vacated by the Progressives and Independents. Manuel merely listened in silence, without approving or disapproving.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup>Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, p. 121. Vilhena had written on October 2, 1908: "I will tell your Majesty, that the majority of the Municipal Chamber in Republican hands is the greatest error that one can practice."

Municipal elections were held throughout Portugal on November 1, 1908. Lisbon was so overwhelmingly Republican that the monarchical parties refrained from presenting candidates there. Some 8,000 votes were cast in the Lisbon election, all going to the Republicans. In the provinces, on the other hand, the monarchical parties were successful in maintaining their hold on the people. Overall, the election did nothing to increase the strength of either the monarchists or the Republicans. Both retained their dominance in their respective areas.<sup>34</sup>

Manuel's projected trip to northern Portugal was a calculated risk. Carlos had not been especially popular with his subjects in that area of the kingdom. The late king's "illegal advances" from the Treasury and his interview with the French journalist Galtier had caused considerable erosion of monarchical support. Utter indifference by the citizens of the north had accompanied the announcement of his assassination. Nevertheless, Manuel was determined to try to redeem the love of the Portuguese people even at great personal sacrifice. On November 8th he departed Lisbon by train for the north of his kingdom, accompanied by his prime minister and three other government officials. In Oporto the youthful monarch received an enthusiastic reception from the people. In his reply to the mayor's welcoming remarks, Manuel repeated the declaration which he had taken before the Cortes that he intended to reign in strict conformity with the Constitution. The object of his visit, he asserted, was to come into close contact with his people and by personal inspection to familiarize himself with the needs of the

---

<sup>34</sup>Charge d'affairs George Lorillard, November 3, 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

country so that the necessary reforms might be initiated immediately.<sup>35</sup>

While in the north Manuel visited Braga, Vianna do Castello, Guimarães, Barcellos, Aveiro, and the university city of Coimbra. Manuel had written to the rector, Alexandre Cabral, on October 29th asking for permission to pay a visit. When he arrived on November 20th a full day of activities had been planned for the occasion. The young monarch received a hearty reception from the students who only the year before had been displeased to a great extent with Franco's dictatorial policies.<sup>36</sup>

Despite the apparent success of Manuel's first major journey since becoming king, criticism of the young monarch persisted. Due to economic unrest and problems abroad, many staunch supporters of the monarchy as well as its opponents were critical of the various ministers who had accompanied the king because they were absent from the capital at such a critical time. It was felt by many that the use of public funds to entertain the king was out of place in view of the near starvation existing in some rural sections of the nation. Agricultural and wine exports for the year had been extremely small. The government's receipts on imports had fallen so low that it was predicted in some circles that the interest on foreign loans might not be paid. To make matters worse Portugal was having boundary problems with China over the Portuguese enclave of Macao which helped arouse public feelings,

---

<sup>35</sup>Minister C. P. Bryan, November 28, 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>36</sup>See the Programma Para A Recepção de Sua Majestade El-Rei D. Manuel II na Universidade de Coimbra em 20 de Novembro de 1908 in the library of the University of Coimbra.

fearful since the British ultimatum of 1890 of any encroachment upon Portuguese territory. The Republicans naturally rejoiced at the government's difficulties and used the situation to further their own cause.<sup>37</sup>

Manuel, somewhat disturbed by the continued Republican criticism, waited almost in desperation for the monarchists to put aside their petty feuds and help him fulfill his duties as a constitutional monarch. His wait was largely in vain. On December 7th he received another letter from Vilhena declaring that the Regenerator leader could no longer support the Amaral government, thus initiating a new political crisis which would topple Manuel's first ministry.<sup>38</sup> Vilhena, eager to become prime minister, took advantage of the general economic and financial difficulties plaguing the country to withdraw his support of the existing ministry. On December 17th Amaral informed the king that he could no longer remain in power without the support of the Regenerators. The prime minister advised Manuel to consult the Council of State about the grave political situation. The king, acting upon the advice of his chief minister, summoned a meeting of his councillors for the afternoon of December 18th. The Council convened but immediately, with a unanimous voice, told Manuel that it considered such a meeting unnecessary and unconstitutional. Manuel, nevertheless, persuaded the Council of State to advise him on what course of action to follow. The members by a close vote of 5-4 decided that the policy of the Amaral

---

<sup>37</sup> Charge d'affairs George Lorillard, November 28, 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>38</sup> Almeida, História de Portugal, II, 559.

government could not be condoned and that the weakness shown by the prime minister in not attempting to oppose the Republicans in the Lisbon municipal election deserved the severest condemnation. Without the support of the Council of State the Amaral ministry could only step down. The prime minister submitted his resignation on the same day.<sup>39</sup> The ministerial crisis forced Manuel to turn to first one politician, then another to form a cabinet. His first choice was Veiga Beirao, a Progressive, but he failed to gather a ministry. The king then chose General Sabastião Teles, another Progressive, who likewise was unable to construct a working government. The frustrated monarch then turned to a Regenerator, Wenceslau de Lima, but his selection failed to win the endorsement of the old Progressive chieftan, José Luciano de Castro; so finally Campos Henriques, a member of the Regenerator Party who had served as Minister of Justice in the preceding government, was chosen, with Lima remaining as foreign minister. The new cabinet contained four Progressives and three Regenerators, the latter separating themselves from the majority of their party and no longer recognizing Julio de Vilhena's leadership. Four of the members, including the new prime minister, were holdovers from Manuel's first government, with Teles and Espregueira continuing in their respective positions in the War and Finance ministries. All were considered politicians of the second rank possessing little real leadership ability.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Charge d'affairs George Lorillard, December 21, 1908, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>40</sup> Almeida, História de Portugal, VI, 559.

Manuel had worked hard to form a coalition government, professing a strong disinclination to have a purely Regenerator ministry which would have undoubtedly resulted in the dissolution of the Cortes and new elections if Vilhena had become prime minister. The king desired instead to create a coalition cabinet rather than placing his faith in any one party. On Christmas day 1908 he was able to swear in the new Henriques government, trusting that it would provide the positive leadership that the country so badly needed. Vilhena, incensed at his failure to capture power after manipulating Amaral's downfall, wrote an indignant letter to the king the following day, expressing his displeasure over the action taken. Amaral, for his part, desired to be appointed Portuguese minister to Paris, and when the new government failed to grant him his wish, he began to attack it and the young king openly. In a speech which he delivered in the House of Peers, the former prime minister intimated that the monarch was under the influence of pious elderly clericals who were urging him to adopt a policy of reaction. This attack by the former minister brought delight to the Republicans, who regarded the allegations as irrefutable evidence of the evils of the monarchical system.<sup>41</sup>

It is true that Manuel's staff consisted of a large number of bureaucrats from the previous reign, but the young king had a mind of his own and was in no way entirely dominated by reactionary influences at his Court. In one of his letters written about eighteen months after ascending the throne, Manuel defined his purpose: "To do the

---

<sup>41</sup> Sir Francis Villiers, February 26, 1910, to Sir Edward Gray, Foreign Office Dispatches (F.O. 179/493), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.



right thing, to work, and above all, to accomplish something for my beloved country is my only and exclusive ambition, and it seems to me that it is a noble ambition." In keeping with this objective, Manuel discussed public affairs with his ministers, read and considered all documents submitted to him for his signature and conducted frequent consultations with leading public men. As soon as an interview was concluded he made a resume of what had been said for future reference. No one was more painstaking and methodical in the execution of his duties. Manuel personally conducted his correspondence with his ministers and others. His days were occupied with audiences, desk work and the necessary recreation for his health. This routine rarely allowed him to retire to his bed chamber before two or three o'clock in the morning. A visitor once found him engrossed in a report on Colonial banks and asked him if it was a duty. "No" was his reply, "it interests me."<sup>42</sup>

Campos Henriques and his new ministry were in no hurry to convene the Cortes and persuaded the Council of State to grant formal permission to postpone the opening of the next session from January 2, 1909 as originally scheduled to March 1st, to give it more time to work out a program. This action, so characteristic of the old system of rotation, angered the Republicans. The Republican Party called a general meeting in Lisbon on January 22nd to protest any further delay in the opening of the Cortes. Manuel, concerned about the situation, summoned the leaders of the monarchical parties to the palace. He urged them to seek to resolve the difficult administrative and economic

---

<sup>42</sup>Times (London), November 15, 1909, p. 5.

problems confronting the nation rather than contrinuing to engage in political feuds and intrigue. The king's appeal fell largely upon deaf ears.<sup>43</sup>

On February 19, 1908, Manuel, in one of his numerous official obligations, participated in the unveiling of a monument to the former Portuguese statesman, the Duke of Saldahna. In the brief comments which he made on the occasion, Manuel said: "I associate myself cordially with this commemoration as a Portuguese; as an ardently patriotic and devotedly constitutional king; and as the descendant of that noble Prince who, supported by this heroic comrade, ever taught my greatgrandmother that, next to God, she owed to the Duke of Saldahna the restoration of the Liberal throne."<sup>44</sup>

Vicious attacks against the Henriques government continued to plague the meetings of the Cortes after it reconvened in March 1909. The ministry was charged with embezzlement and the Finance Minister, Espregueira, challenged one of his accusers to a duel in which pistol shots were actually exchanged without hitting their marks. A few days later the opposition called for an inquiry into the charges, and on March 26th the Prime Minister tendered his resignation.<sup>45</sup> Henriques had been forced to take such action because his ministry was powerless to transact any business in the Cortes under such circumstances. The opposition had effectively united to obstruct any further proceedings by

---

<sup>43</sup> Annual Register, 1909 (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1910), p. 362.

<sup>44</sup> A. Duarte de Almeida, Os Últimos Braganças (Lisboa: João Ramano Torres & Co., n.d.), p. 219.

<sup>45</sup> Annual Register, 1909, p. 363.

filibustering and by attacking the government on every occasion. Rather than dissolve the Cortes and force new elections, Manuel accepted the resignation and began the search for a new prime minister. Wenceslau de Lima and Veiga Beirão were both approached and attempted to collect the seven public men necessary to form a cabinet. Neither one was successful in that endeavor. On April 11th General Sebastião Teles finally succeeded in putting together a government which included only three men who had previously held ministerial posts. In addition to himself, they were D. João de Alarcao, who became the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and D. Luis de Castro, who remained the Minister of Public Works. Teles himself retained control of the Ministry of War.<sup>46</sup> The downfall of the Henriques ministry brought Vilhena the revengeful sort of pleasure he so enjoyed. Not asked to form a ministry himself, the Regenerator leader was determined that no one else would govern Portugal peacefully. With monarchists like Vilhena, Manuel really did not need any Republican opposition to thwart his constitutional government.

In the spring of 1909 Manuel's concern over political affairs was interrupted when he received news of the great devastation wrought by an earthquake in central Portugal. On the morning of April 23rd a violent shock from an earthquake was felt in the capital itself at 5 o'clock causing some alarm but no great material damage to the city. Much more severe was the violence of the quake in the Ribatejo area of the country. The bridge over the Tagus at Zamora, a principal means of communication with the region, was damaged. Both the villages of Benavente and Samora were completely destroyed, resulting in the death

---

<sup>46</sup>Almeida, História de Portugal, VI, 561-562.

of at least forty-six persons and leaving some 6,000 inhabitants without food or homes. The king left almost immediately for the villages, motoring from Lisbon via Santarem. He carried with him two surgeons and medical supplies, as well as the Ministers of Public Works and Marine. Manuel spent almost twelve hours among the people affected, returning to his residence in the early hours of Sunday morning, April 25th.<sup>47</sup>

The spring of 1909 was a period of continued political unrest within the country. General Teles, after only three weeks in office, had proven totally incapable of governing. In just over a year Manuel was forced to accept yet another resignation and seek a new prime minister. This time the choice fell upon Wenceslau de Lima who had served in several previous administrations. Lima managed, with considerably difficulty, to form a non-partisan cabinet on May 13, 1909. The creation of the new ministry broke the time-honored concept that Progressive backing was indispensable for the formation of any government. It was a blow to the domination of José Luciano de Castro in government circles and gave much satisfaction to his political enemies who, although not members of the new ministry, were nevertheless delighted with his rejection. Lima was not the strong man that the king and Portugal needed at the time but he hoped to secure enough support in the Chamber to allow passage of the budget and to deal with other urgent matters. He was generally regarded as the most independent member of

---

<sup>47</sup> Minister C. P. Bryan, April 27, 1909, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Also see Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, pp. 217-219.

the Regenerator Party and thus the safest Portuguese politician available at the moment, yet his ministry lived in constant fear of being ousted. The new nonpartisan ministry consisted of virtual unknowns, with Lima alone enjoying any recognition within the country. He was a scholarly and accomplished gentleman who enjoyed the personal confidence of his sovereign and the queen mother. His major weakness was his ultra-conservative character which was destined to alienate him with some segments of society and make his job an extremely difficult one.<sup>48</sup>

On November 7, 1909 Manuel departed Lisbon by train on the first leg of a three nation state visit. Leaving his uncle as regent, the monarch was accompanied by a large retinue of officials and aides, including Carlos Roma du Bocage, his foreign minister. His first stop was in Spain. Upon his arrival in Madrid he was personally met by King Alfonso XIII, Prince Fernando, and the Spanish prime minister. While in the Spanish capital he attended a series of gala events, concerts and the theatre, visited the museums, had lunch at the Portuguese Legation, and undertook excursions to Toledo and the Escorial. Manuel's visit to Spain stressed the affectionate ties binding the two young monarchs and their countries. The Portuguese king departed Madrid on the evening of November 12th for Bordeaux, France.<sup>49</sup>

At Bordeaux he boarded the British royal yacht, the Victoria and Albert, for the channel crossing. Upon his arrival at Portsmouth in England he was greeted by the Prince of Wales amid the salutes of

---

<sup>48</sup>Minister C. P. Bryan, May 17, 1909, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>49</sup>Lavradio, Memoirs, pp. 130-132.

British warships at anchor in the harbor. He then proceeded by train to Windsor and a personal greeting from his father's longtime friend, King Edward VII. At the castle itself he was received by Queen Alexandra and her daughter, Maud of Norway. That evening Manuel celebrated his twentieth birthday with the British royal family in the palace dining room, followed by a concert given in his honor in Saint George's Hall by a local choral society. The following evening he was invested by King Edward with Britain's highest and most noble order, the Knighthood of the Garter. The impressive ceremony took place in the castle throne room in the presence of all the other members of the Order, Queen Alexandra, and the British royal family.<sup>50</sup>

On Wednesday, November 17th Manuel paid an official visit to the City of London where he lunched with the Lord Mayor and his wife at the Guildhall and expressed in the English language his profound appreciation for the hospitality extended to him.<sup>51</sup> The greater portion of the Portuguese king's remaining visit to England was spent in hunting with the British monarch and attending banquets and theatre performances. Manuel left England on the 27th of November crossing from Dover to Calais on board the yacht Alexandra. He arrived in Paris that evening in the private railroad carriage of the President of France. He was met by Stephen Pichon, a member of the French government, and by a large delegation from the Portuguese colony in the city. He drove directly from the station to his quarters at the Hotel Bristol. While in France the monarch visited many of its historic sights and spent November 30th

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>51</sup> Times (London), November 18, 1909, p. 6.

shooting with the President, Fallieres, at the old royal residence of Rambouillet. Fatigued by his extensive travels, the king left Paris for Lisbon on December 2, 1909.<sup>52</sup>

Manuel returned from Paris rather happy despite his fatigue. While there he had met and entertained a celebrated French dancer named Gaby Deslys. He was young and easily attracted by the attention which she had paid him. After his return to Portugal, he wrote her letters and sent her pearls and portraits. It was an adolescent affair which no one should have taken too seriously but which his enemies seized upon and about which they concocted all sort of false stories linking the two together. Manuel's opponents spread rumors that the king was completely under Gaby's domination, that every one of his actions was dictated by her and that she herself was a secret agent working for a foreign power desirous of bringing about the ruin of Portugal. Another fabrication was that Manuel intended to marry her and she had already given her not only the crown jewels but also vast sums of money from the Portuguese Treasury. Manuel's only mistake was that he invited her to Lisbon, entertained her at the palace and prolonged the friendship which was certainly much more to her advantage than it was to his. The notoriety which she derived from it launched her on a successful and prosperous career in show business. It had the opposite effect on Manuel. It helped to further undermine the monarchy and to bring about

---

<sup>52</sup>Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 137. The Times (London) gives a full account of the entire trip from November 7-December 4, 1909.

its downfall.<sup>53</sup>

Manuel returned from his trip abroad to face a whole new round of political difficulties. The prime minister, after a consultation with his colleagues, handed the king the collective resignation of his ministry on the evening of December 18th. Although it was the fourth cabinet during Manuel's brief reign, he had no choice but to accept it. Lima, in tendering the resignation, pointed out to his king that the ministry could no longer bear the responsibilities of government in the face of the violent hostility then present in the Regenerators and the Progressives within the Cortes. The following morning Manuel consulted with the Presidents of both Legislative Chambers in an effort to determine who should be asked to form a new ministry. Once again by-passing Julio de Vilhena, the king called upon Veiga Beirão to create a working government. Beirão seemed the right choice at the moment. He was an eminent attorney and possessed a thorough knowledge of international law. He was fluent in French, conversant in Spanish and spoke a little English. Before entering government service he had been a law professor at the Lisbon Institute of Commerce and Industry and Vice President of the Royal Academy of Sciences.<sup>54</sup> The ministry over which Beirão presided was composed entirely of members of the old Progressive Party, making it more homogeneous than the one which had preceeded it. All the new cabinet members were, in fact,

---

<sup>53</sup>Christopher, Prince of Greece, Memoirs (London: The Right Book Club, 1938), pp. 101-102; Miranda, O Ultimo Rei, pp. 84-85. His Majesty, King Umberto II of Italy, in an audience on June 28, 1972, indicated he regarded the entire incident as trivial.

<sup>54</sup>Minister C. P. Bryan, August 24, 1909, to Secretary Elihu Root, Dispatches (RG:84), Portugal, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.



men who had previously served in the government. In political circles the new ministry was regarded as a makeshift cabinet which might remain in power until the beginning of January when a dissolution of parliament would force it to engage in new elections. In fact, the Beirão cabinet retained power for a full six months (December 22, 1909-June 26, 1910).<sup>55</sup>

On January 2, 1910 Manuel delivered his annual speech from the Throne when he opened the Cortes. In his prepared remarks the king dwelt on the good relations existing between Portugal and the other European states. He referred to his recent visits to Spain, England, and France, and of the cordial reception he had received, especially from the King and Queen of England, which he declared was a testimony to the solid and powerful bonds which exist in the traditional alliance between the two countries. King Manuel also recalled the affectionate welcome extended him in Madrid. He added that upon his return from England he had had the opportunity of being received in Paris by President Fallieres, whose amiable welcome was proof of the deep sympathy existing between France and Portugal. The king mentioned that negotiations were in progress for the demarcation of the boundary between the Portuguese colony of Macao and the Chinese state and that new treaties of commerce were being concluded with a number of other countries. He ended by enumerating the various measures relating to domestic affairs which the government would shortly submit to the Cortes.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, pp. 315-316.

<sup>56</sup> The speech called for electoral and financial reforms. See Minister Bryan's dispatch dated January 10, 1910 for details.

On the following day, January 3, 1910, the king signed a decree adjourning parliament for two months to give the government time to compose its program. During the recess further political disintegration took place. The Regenerator Party divided into two groups, with the more liberal-minded members rallying around the former Minister of Marine, Teixeira de Souza, while the conservative elements gave their support to the former prime minister, Campos Herreriques. A number of the members of the party held aloof altogether from both factions.<sup>57</sup>

This sort of intra-party strife within monarchical circles brought immense pleasure to Portugal's Republicans. The Republicans by 1910 had already recruited several prominent former monarchists. One of them was A. J. da Cunha, the former Governor of the Bank of Portugal and presiding officer of the House of Peers. Another was Dr. Bernardino Machado, a former Regenerator minister who had been the recognized head of the Republican Party's Directorate until the end of 1908 when the activities of the group came under the control of more radical leaders. The Republicans maintained close ties with various secret societies, including the Portuguese Carbonária, which enabled them to establish cells in the armed forces, especially in the navy, and among university students and the more radical press. The link between the Carbonária and the Republicans was provided by Dr. A. J. de Almeida, who worked closely with Machado Santos and other leaders within the Carbonária's high lodge. Santos was himself a second-lieutenant in the navy where he worked feverishly to spread his ideas.

---

<sup>57</sup> Annual Register, 1910 (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1911), p. 368. Souza had replaced Vilhena as leader of the Regenerators following Vilhena's resignation, January 16, 1910.

Almeida had embraced Republicanism at the time of the Ultimatum of 1890. He then pursued a medical career in Africa for twelve years, returning to an active political role in 1904. He was instrumental in organizing the last fruitful efforts of the party in 1910.<sup>58</sup> Bernardino Machado had been a professor of philosophy at the University of Coimbra and a government minister under Hintze Ribeiro before his defection to Republicanism. In 1902 he was elected the party's president. His standing in society and ineffable courtesy gave the movement which he headed great respectability.<sup>59</sup> The most outstanding member of the organization was the ruthless, fanatical and anti-clerical demagogue, Afonso Costa, who represented Lisbon in the Chamber of Deputies. An attorney by profession, Costa used the power and might of his elected position to continually attack the monarchy and its supporters. He had been on more than one occasion, imprisoned for his denunciations of the government prior to 1908.<sup>60</sup>

By 1910 a revolutionary plot had been maturing for some months. The Revolutionary Committee of the Portuguese navy, organized in 1907 and composed of five naval officers under the leadership of Admiral Candido dos Reis, carried on its propaganda program without government interference. By the end of 1909 the marines had been won over to the Republican cause. On the night of September 14, 1909 delegates of the guard on the cruiser D. Carlos formed a directory and resolved to stage a revolt if an effective revolution did not occur soon. Afonso Costa

---

<sup>58</sup> Livermore, A New History of Portugal, p. 319.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp. 316-317.

went about the country denouncing the monarchy and proclaiming its downfall before the end of the year. Quieter Republicans like Dr. Theophile Braga, a university professor, Joao Chagas, a journalist, and Dr. Miguel Bombarda all promoted the party's cause just as effectively as did the bombastic Costa. Braga was, undoubtedly, one of the most prominent literary figures of his day who had authored numerous works, including a thirty-two volume História da Litterature Portugueza. He was professor of modern literature at the University of Lisbon, a chair he had occupied for almost forty years. His presence in the Republican ranks gave the party a measure of respectability.<sup>61</sup>

The monarchical parties deplored the situation but they had no intention of accepting any blame for the difficulties within the country which they had largely caused. They preferred to place the guilt on the government in power at the moment. When the Cortes reconvened on March 3, 1910, obstruction and disorder became so great on the part of the government's opponents that following an extremely stormy session on April 22nd it became necessary to adjourn the Chamber of Deputies until the first of June. Afonso Costa had been largely responsible for the recess by once again employing abusive tactics designed to disrupt the orderly procedures of the lower house. He had achieved his objective of bringing the government to an almost complete standstill.<sup>62</sup>

To compound the monarch's problems a scandal of major proportions

---

<sup>61</sup>Vincente de Bragança-Cunha, Revolutionary Portugal, 1910-1936 (London: J. Clarke & Co., 1937), pp. 88, 97.

<sup>62</sup>Lavrado, Memoirs, p. 141.

broke in May 1910. The Beirão ministry although not directly responsible, was doomed as a consequence of the disclosure that José Luciano de Castro, the long time Progressive leader, was seriously implicated in it. Castro was the Governor of the Credit Predial, a Lisbon bank whose board of governors was accused of embezzling large sums of money and the falsification of the accounts.<sup>63</sup> The Credit Predial was a bank which had long enjoyed the favors of the State, including since 1863 the exclusive privilege of issuing Predial bonds or hypothecary notes to the value of its loans upon real property. The discovery of such grave irregularities in one of Portugal's major financial institutions cast suspicion on the already weakened monarchical government. Castro himself would eventually be brought to trial, confess an awareness of the irregularities, be found guilty and forced into exile. The bank's vice-president was forced to resign, two other high officials were imprisoned, and another committed suicide.<sup>64</sup> The whole scandal had the worst possible effect upon the monarchy. The Republicans, with justification, made the most of the connecting link between those involved and the existing ministry.

In early May 1910 Manuel received the news of the death of Portugal's good friend, King Edward VII of England. It was a profound loss to the young king who had looked upon the British sovereign as a father figure. Manuel announced on May 8th that he would be present at Edward's funeral in London which was to take place on May 20th. The monarchical press in Portugal published tributes to the late king's

---

<sup>63</sup> Bragança-Cunha, Eight Centuries, pp. 249-250.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

abilities as a monarch and as a diplomatist, while testifying to the general grief felt at the loss of Portugal's best friend among the rulers of Europe. At the funeral Manuel himself in the company of eight other reigning European monarchs, including William II of Germany, Alfonso XIII of Spain, Albert I of the Belgians, Ferdinand of Bulgaria, George I of Greece, Frederick VIII of Denmark (the last two being the brothers of Queen Alexandra), and Haakon VII of Norway. In the funeral procession, Manuel walked directly behind the Spanish king and at the side of the Danish monarch. Directly behind him came the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary, whose own tragic death four years hence would plunge Europe into war.<sup>65</sup>

After the funeral at Windsor, Manuel returned to London via train and then to Buckingham Palace in a closed carriage alone with Queen Alexandra and her sister, the Dowager Empress Marie of Russia. It was a mark of the dowager queen's respect for the young Portuguese king that he had been asked to accompany her on her return to the palace she had shared for nine years with her late husband. Edward VII had always shown great interest in Portugal and the Braganzas and especially in the boy king who had been forced upon the throne by such tragic circumstances.<sup>66</sup>

The king returned home to another ministerial crisis destined

---

<sup>65</sup>Barbara Tuchman, The Guns of August (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), pp. 1-4.

<sup>66</sup>See Ribeiro, A Revolução Portuguesa, I, 898-906 for full details of the funeral. While in London Manuel called on the American envoy, Theodore Roosevelt, to express his appreciation for the former president's words of comfort at the time of Carlos' death in February 1908.

to be his last. The discredit which the disclosures concerning the Credit Predial had cast upon Castro and the Progressive Party naturally served to injure the already shaky Beirao administration, although only one member of the government was directly connected with the Predial bank itself. The impact of the scandal was great because the Beirão ministry, like most of its predecessors during Manuel's reign, had lived under the aegis of the old Progressive chieftan. Now he was publicly accused of gross wrong-doings: falsification of accounts and issuing illegal bonds. Castro made no effort to hide his involvement. In a report to the bank's bondholders he confessed to having been aware for a considerable time of the irregularities.<sup>67</sup> Such a statement by a man whom Manuel had frequently consulted throughout his reign could cause nothing but harm to the monarchy and its supporters. Upon his return to Lisbon the king was confronted with a request from his prime minister to dissolve the Cortes and call new elections. The king, as always, was hesitant to take such drastic action and he postponed making any decision for the time being.

Ultimately, Manuel decided that he could not grant Beirão's request to dissolve the Cortes. On June 25, 1910 he accepted his prime minister's resignation. The sixth and final ministry of Manuel II's reign was drawn up the following day when Teixeira de Souza took the oath of office in the king's presence. Souza's selection was almost certainly a mistake since he was regarded as a man of rather liberal, almost Republican tendencies. This lost the monarchy most of its

---

<sup>67</sup>For a full account of the Credit Predial scandal see Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, pp. 363-374.

remaining support, especially among the vital military segment, while in no way did it recruit adherents among the liberals who remained loyal to the Republican cause. The new prime minister did not possess the strength of character nor the power in the Cortes to guide the destiny of the nation in this most critical time. While professing to be "a philosophical radical," he was actually a man of extreme narrowmindedness on certain issues, motivated by a disdain for those beneath his station. As Minister of Marine and Colonies earlier in his career, Souza had irritated the Portuguese possessions by refusing to allow colonials to enter the navy. This was the man now entrusted with resolving Portugal's most pressing problems.<sup>68</sup> Many of Manuel's closest supporters felt that to call Souza to office was tantamount to suicide for the monarchy.<sup>69</sup>

In the meantime, evidence had come to the attention of the authorities that certain elements of the navy planned to stage a revolution designed to overthrow the monarchy and create a republic. After consultation with the king and his mother, the Souza ministry quickly ordered the alleged units of the navy to sea, thus foiling for the time being any attempt to revolt.<sup>70</sup>

Among the numerous visitors to Lisbon in the summer of 1910 was the Spanish princess, Eulalia, younger daughter of the deposed Isabel

---

<sup>68</sup>Bragança-Cunha, Revolutionary Portugal, p. 86.

<sup>69</sup>For a rather biased account of the new cabinet see Teixeira de Souza, Para a História de Revolução (Coimbra: Moura Marques & Paraísos, 1912), p. 113. For a more factual account, see Sir Francis Villiers' Dispatch dated June 28, 1910.

<sup>70</sup>Teixeira de Souza, História, pp. 203, 214-219.



II of Spain, who had known Manuel since he was a baby. The Spanish princess, an astute observer, quickly sensed that the Portuguese monarch was in far greater danger than he imagined. In the princess' view, Manuel was not aware of the underlying danger of his passive policy. Everything she observed seemed to point to the fact that a revolution was imminent, yet at the palace, Eulalia realized, no one suspected any such upheaval. She was convinced that such appalling news had no chance of reaching the young king because of the thick wall which had been formed around him by his ministers and members of the Court. What she heard while attending outdoor meetings and talking with the people in the streets left her with an uneasy feeling. Portugal was seething with unrest ready to break out at any moment. Within a few months of her departure the revolution which she had sensed took place, sweeping the Braganzas from their throne.<sup>71</sup>

The campaign for seats in the Cortes was a spirited one with the Republicans making the most of the opportunity to denounce the monarchy. Afonso Costa, the outstanding spokesman for the Republican cause, went about the country proclaiming that the 1910 parliamentary elections would be the last under the Braganzas. When the election returns were counted on August 28, 1910, the Republicans had succeeded in acquiring fourteen seats in the Chamber of Deputies despite the ballot boxes rigged in favor of the monarchist parties. Most of their strength came from the Lisbon area. Among the Republicans elected were Costa, Bernardino Machado, A. J. de Almeida, Alfredo de Magalhaes, and Dr.

---

<sup>71</sup>Eulalia, Infanta of Spain, Memoirs of a Spanish Princess (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1937), pp. 210-214.

Miguel Bombarda. All had secured more than 10,000 votes in each of their districts. "The Republican party has proved that it is the only possible organ of public opinion for the defense of the liberties of all," stated Costa. "So obvious is this that, if the king were not, alike by character and by education, the first reactionary of his country, he would already himself have realized that that was the road to be followed."<sup>72</sup> Manuel, however, preferred to listen to the advice of those whom he felt had the best interests of the monarchy at heart, and therein lay his weakness. He eventually discovered that no one really cared about preserving the principles of monarchy in Portugal any longer. During the final period of his reign onslaughts of the bitterest kind were hurled at the young king by the press, including the monarchical organ and Progressive Party mouthpiece, the Correio da Noite, accusing him of a criminal act by maintaining Souza in power and thus "selling" the monarchy to the Republicans. It placed Manuel in a hopeless position.<sup>73</sup>

One of Manuel II's last official acts as King of Portugal was the opening of the Cortes on September 23, 1910. The fact that it sprang from corrupt elections could have brought the monarch no great enthusiasm for the task. During Manuel's brief reign, a period of only two and one-half years, five ministries had followed each other into oblivion, while the results of the legislation enacted had been practically nil. Yet Manuel still held out hope that some change would occur as he addressed the new Cortes. In his prepared remarks, Manuel noted that bills would

---

<sup>72</sup>Gribble, The Royal House of Portugal, p. 301.

<sup>73</sup>Bragança-Cunha, Revolutionary Portugal, p. 86.

be introduced to amend the Constitution, to reorganize the House of Peers, to reform the electoral law to establish proportional representation in Lisbon and Oporto, to extend the power of local government, to abolish the office of Judge of Criminal Instruction (so notoriously abused under Franco), and to improve the system of primary education.<sup>74</sup> In the finances of the nation various measures were to be introduced, including one for the payment of customs duties in gold. In military matters the king's speech called for the creation of a centralized General Staff, reduction of active service, improvement of military education, and reorganization of the navy to better meet the nation's requirements. In colonial areas railroads were to be built in Angola and ports developed in Macao and Mozambique. Manuel concluded his speech with a long list of proposed measures designed to develop agricultural, commercial and industrial interests by improving the means of communication and irrigation. Two days later the Cortes was adjourned by royal decree until the 12th of December. It was destined never to convene again under the monarchy.<sup>75</sup>

The king departed shortly thereafter to participate in the centenary celebrations at Bussaco honoring the victory of joint Anglo-Portuguese forces under the Duke of Wellington's command over the French one hundred years earlier. On the morning of the 27th Manuel attended a special open-air mass conducted by the eighty-three year old Bishop

---

<sup>74</sup> For a three-page typed summary of the speech see Sir Francis Villiers, September 26, 1910, to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Office Dispatches (F. O. 179/493), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

of Coimbra while the Duke of Oporto, England's current Duke of Wellington, members of the Centenary Commission, and throngs of Portuguese peasants looked on.<sup>76</sup> That afternoon there was a banquet in the open air presided over by the monarch and attended by the distinguished guests and members of the Commission. Manuel delivered a well prepared speech to his audience, mainly consisting of military men, which received loud cheers, especially when he vowed to be the loyal ruler of a loyal nation. The acclaim which Manuel received from the peasantry on the occasion was even more heartwarming. A few Republicans who had traveled from Lisbon to witness the celebrating indulged in a cheer for a Republic which incurred much popular displeasure. They were seized and badly beaten by the peasants for their outburst. This reaction caused some concern in Republican circles. Both the army and the common people had displayed much affection for the monarchy at the Bussaco centenary celebrations. Such action tended to delude the government into believing that things were not as serious as they seemed.<sup>77</sup>

Manuel had future travel plans for the closing months of 1910. He hoped to visit the north of Portugal again that fall, the exact date of his departure to depend upon the arrival of the president-elect of Brazil, Hermes de Fonseca, who would be paying a courtesy call on his way home from France and Germany.<sup>78</sup> If things went as scheduled Manuel would depart from Lisbon on the night of October 4th and pay visits to

---

<sup>76</sup> Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, pp. 456-458.

<sup>77</sup> For a description of the celebrations see Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 151. While at Bussaco Manuel dedicated a small museum near the battlefield which is still open to the public today.

<sup>78</sup> Peres, História de Portugal, VII, 458.

Vila Real, Chaves, Braganza, Mirandella, Murca, and Oporto during the following month. On September 27th, while he was at Bussaco, the king had received an official invitation from the German emperor, William II, to visit Berlin in December of that year. The visit was to be of a State nature with festivities, including a military review, planned for the occasion. Manuel and his ministers attached much importance to such a trip. What they did not know, what they could not foresee, was that Manuel II would no longer be ruling in Portugal by the end of the year.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup>Teixeira de Souza, História, pp. 229-230.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE 1910 REVOLUTION

In October 1910 King Manuel was just short of his twenty-first birthday. His looks had been enhanced by a small dark mustache which made him appear more mature than his years might suggest. More importantly, the young monarch had grown mentally as a result of the numerous problems which had arisen since his accession, but he still had no solution to Portugal's most pressing problems. The events which took place in the first week of October 1910 were not exactly what the king had in mind as a remedy but they had the same end effect: they removed the problems from Manuel's shoulders forever.

Manuel returned to Lisbon from the Bussaco celebrations in order to welcome Marshal Hermes de Fonseca, the president-elect of Brazil, who was paying a courtesy call on his way home from a European trip. Fonseca arrived in the Tagus on board the Brazilian cruiser Sao Paulo on Saturday, October 1st. The small royal barge was sent out to receive the Brazilian and his party, and they came ashore at the Marine Arsenal where the prime minister and other Portuguese officials greeted them. At 11:45 that morning the president-elect was driven to the Belem Palace where an army band played the Brazilian national anthem upon his arrival. After lunch at the palace, Fonseca paid a call on Manuel at the Necessidades, accompanied by Souza and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, José de Azevedo Castelo Branco. The king

received his guests in the Throne Room and engaged in some light conversation. The Brazilian then retired to the Belem Palace, where at four o'clock that afternoon Manuel returned the visit, accompanied by the Marquis of Fayal and Lieutenant-Colonel Antonio Waddington. The king's arrival at Belem was greeted with the playing of the Portuguese national hymn but no loud outburst from the crowds. That evening Fonseca was the king's guest of honor at a formal dinner at the Necessidades, amidst a beautiful display of crystal service and bouquets of flowers. After the dinner the president-elect received the various ministers of the government and the members of King Manuel's military staff.<sup>1</sup>

On the following day, October 2nd, Fonseca motored to the historic old city of Sintra for lunch with the royal family at their palace of Pena. The President-elect was accompanied from Lisbon by the commander of the Sao Paulo and the Brazilian minister to the Portuguese court. Fonseca's return to the capital provided the occasion for elaborate Republican demonstrations, and his party was greeted by multitudes so dense that they actually blocked his return to the palace for a time. The Praça Afonso de Albuquerque in front of the Belem Palace was a sea of faces enthusiastically proclaiming him the ideal Republican. The monarchy had not been as widely acclaimed in some time. That evening Fonseca was the guest of honor at a banquet at the Marine Arsenal in Lisbon given by the Commercial Association of the city. Manuel remained in Sintra for the evening, returning to Lisbon on the

---

<sup>1</sup>Diário de Notícias (Lisbon), October 2, 1910, p. 1

morning of October 3rd.<sup>2</sup>

The utmost interest was shown by the press and the Portuguese people in everything the Republican did while he was in the country. At 10 o'clock on October 3rd Fonseca visited the Royal Pantheon at Saint Vincent's, where he placed wreaths on the tombs of Carlos and his son, and those of the late Emperor and Empress of Brazil. He then journeyed to Lisbon's Geographical Society, where he made a brief speech before returning to the Belem Palace for lunch. That afternoon Fonseca paid a brief visit to the City Hall and then proceeded to the Sao Paulo to welcome Manuel on board the Brazilian warship. The king arrived on the vessel wearing his naval uniform, accompanied by his aides. After inspecting the ship Manuel expressed his great pleasure in being on board a naval vessel of a friendly foreign power.<sup>3</sup>

By that Monday evening, October 3, 1910, the Republican forces of revolution were ready to make their long planned move against the monarchy. Everything had been ready since the first of the month. The Republican Party leadership now had on its side an admiral, Cândido dos Reis, who commanded sizeable support among the naval forces. The presence of the Brazilian president-elect made it improbable that the government would send the fleet to sea, as it had done earlier that year to thwart the Republicans' plans. Fonseca's presence

---

<sup>2</sup> Souza, História, II, 235. For the full text of Foncesca's speech at the banquet see O Mundo, October 3, 1910, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ribeiro, A Revolução Portuguesa, II, 791. The Sao Paulo was later to witness the Portuguese revolution. Twice, in 1910 and 1924, the Brazilian warship herself would be involved in mutinies, the first time barely a week after Fonseca took office. See José M. Bello, A History of Modern Brazil (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 216, 253.



added to the Republican cause physically as well as philosophically. It was decided that the revolution would begin that evening.<sup>4</sup>

At 8 o'clock that evening Hermes de Fonseca played host to Manuel, the Duke of Oporto, and forty other guests at a farewell banquet at the Belem Palace. The president-elect arose to toast the Portuguese royal family and the prosperity of Portugal. Among the guests were all six of Manuel's prime ministers. The last one, Teixeira de Souza, informed the king that he was aware of the existence of a revolutionary movement, but he felt certain that the government was strong enough to curb it. Manuel expressed no alarm, showing once again his complete confidence in his chief minister. After the banquet Manuel returned to his palace of the Necessidades, accompanied by the Marquis of Lavradio, the Count of Sabugosa, and Colonel Afredo de Albuquerque, and escorted by a detail of lancers. He retired to what was to be his last night of sleep in the royal residence. Souza left the Belem about 9:30 that evening, with the Minister of War, and retired to his home, confident that the revolution, if it came, could be controlled.<sup>5</sup>

The Republicans were equally confident of victory. All that they feared was the possible intervention of the European powers, especially the British whose ancient alliance with Portugal had always been regarded as providing protection for the reigning family. The Republicans had been so concerned about possible British actions that

---

<sup>4</sup> Machado Santos, A Revolução Portuguesa (Lisboa: Lamas and Franklin, 1911), p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Souza, História, II, 244-247. For the complete guest list see Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, p. 475.

confided to his Republican friends that the murder was in no way political but they were willing to make him a martyr for their cause, using his death to excite the Lisbon populace and incite it to revolution. The prime minister, when notified by telephone of the attack on Bombarda, rushed to the hospital but was unable to speak with the stricken man. Two hours later, Dr. Augusto de Vasconcellos, who had performed the surgery, informed Souza that Bombarda had just died. It was with the tragic news of the doctor's death weighing on his mind that the prime minister attended the banquet at the Belem Palace that evening and told his sovereign of the impending revolution.<sup>7</sup>

The Bombarda murder inspired the revolutionary conspirators, who held a final meeting at eight o'clock that evening in their quarters on the Rua da Esperança. It was decided that the signal for beginning the revolution was to be cannon fire from Portuguese warships in the Tagus at one o'clock the next morning. If everything went as planned, a massive uprising would then ensue which would topple the monarchy and its supporters and result in the establishment of a Portuguese Republic. The revolution was directed principally by three men: Antonio José de Almeida, Admiral Cândido dos Reis, and Machado Santos, who coordinated the military activity. A short time before the appointed hour for the ships to commence firing, the Minister of Marine signalled to those anchored in the Tagus, asking their

---

<sup>7</sup> See accounts of Bombarda's death in Diário de Notícias (Lisbon) October 4, 1910, p. 1, and O Mundo (Lisbon) same date, p. 1. The Republican press proclaimed it "Uma tragedia dolorosa" (a grievous tragedy).

they had dispatched a special embassy, consisting of Magalhaes Lima, the proprietor of the newspaper Vanguardia, and José Relvas, a land owner, to London in August 1910 to assure the British Foreign Office that the establishment of a Republican government in Portugal would not change the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. They were comforted to hear Prime Minister Asquith stress that the alliance was between peoples and not dynasties, which they interpreted to mean that Great Britain would not intervene directly to save the monarchy.<sup>6</sup>

The event generally credited with triggering the 1910 Portuguese Revolution was the assassination of the respected Republican Deputy, Dr. Miguel Bombarda. Although the revolution had long been in the planning stages, Bombarda's murder did provide the necessary stimulus to bring it about. The assassination fired the imagination of the masses already stirred by the visit of the president-elect of Brazil. Dr. Bombarda was a medical officer attached to the Lisbon Asylum for the Insane. One of his former patients was a lieutenant on the General Staff, Rebello dos Santos, whom the doctor had found to be incurable. The lieutenant was discharged, however, against Bombarda's advice. He left Lisbon and took up his residence in Paris, where he underwent further treatment, returning to Portugal in 1910 as a "cured" man. Holding a personal grudge against the doctor, he immediately sought him out at the asylum and shot him four times. Before losing consciousness, Dr. Bombarda cried out, "Do not maltreat the man, he is mad." Rushed to Saint José's Hospital, Bombarda underwent surgery but died later that day. Bombarda, before his death,

---

<sup>6</sup> Bragança-Cunha, Revolutionary Portugal, pp. 88-89.

officers and crews if they were ready to enter into action against an armed uprising should it become necessary to call upon them. He added that if they were not ready, they should prepare without a moment's delay. The minister's message was totally unexpected. It seemed to indicate to the conspirators among them that the government was aware of the plot and was adopting vigorous precautions to thwart the revolution. The one o'clock signals were, therefore, delayed, awaiting further word from the co-conspirators on shore. Thinking that the uprising had been detected, the naval units temporarily withdrew their support, not willing to sacrifice lives for a revolution that would fail. Admiral Reis, who had been waiting patiently on shore for the signal of cannon fire, became discouraged and concluded that all was lost. Not wanting to be arrested and spend his remaining years in a prison cell, the admiral pulled out his revolver and committed suicide. Reis' command passed surprisingly smoothly to Machado Santos, a junior naval officer. About three-fourths of an hour after Reis' death, the guns of the San Raphael boomed out the signal, and the revolution officially began.<sup>8</sup>

Upon receiving word of the outbreak of hostilities the prime minister gathered his cabinet at his residence but undertook no action to stem the revolutionary movement. Souza appeared very pale and visibly worried. His Minister of War, Raposo Botelho, in a poorly buttoned overcoat, with the collar sticking out of one side, kept asking every ten minutes, "Are they taking all the provinces?" The Minister

---

<sup>8</sup> E. J. Dillon, "The Portuguese Revolution," The Living Age 267 (December 3, 1910), p. 583.

Marine contented himself by saying that it was not easy to command the navy in the Tagus as his colleagues demanded. Pereira dos Santos, the Minister of Public Works, spoke for some time on the telephone with the Director of the Post Office seeking to determine if communications still existed with the outside world. And the Minister of Foreign Affairs, José de Azevedo, still in his dress coat just as he had left the banquet at the Belem Palace, reached the conclusion that "Our place is not here; it is in the Palace, at the King's side."<sup>9</sup> Yet none of Manuel's most trusted advisors made a move to join their sovereign at the Necessidades.

Manuel's sleep was disturbed by the signals from the warships in the harbor, although their guns had not as yet been directed toward the palace itself. He arose, looked out the windows and inquired of a member of his staff if the revolution had begun. The answer was in the affirmative, so the king decided to remain awake, dressing as usual in a uniform. The king's staff at the palace that night included his most loyal aides, Sabugosa, Fayal, and Lavradio, as well as the Count of Tarouca, Major Fernando Eduardo de Serpa, Captain Antonio Waddington, Lieutenant Feijo Teixeira, and a royal physician, Dr. Artur Ravara. It would be this small compliment of men who would stay at the king's side through the next few difficult hours.<sup>10</sup>

The revolutionaries thought that they had firm support from a number of the regiments in the Portuguese armed forces. When the

---

<sup>9</sup> Jesus Pabón, La Revolución Portuguesa (Madrid: Espasacalpe, S. A., 1941), p. 107.

<sup>10</sup> Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, p. 509.

actual revolt began, however, they found to their surprise that only two units, the Sixteenth Infantry and the First Artillery, were willing to participate in the uprising. The others preferred to remain neutral or to support the monarchical forces during most of the revolution. At first only one-half of the Sixteenth Infantry was prepared to support the revolutionaries. Between one and two o'clock in the morning a group of citizens, known as populares, rushed the barracks of the Regiment and seized them. Led by Machado Santos, the members of the Sixteenth then joined the armed citizens and proceeded to attack monarchical positions in Lisbon. Most of the First Artillery, led by Captain Afonso Pala, a Republican, joined in the revolt at the same time.<sup>11</sup>

Shortly after the revolution began, arms were distributed to any Portuguese citizen ready to challenge Manuel's government, and, along with accompanying field guns, the insurrectionists marched to the heights of the square honoring Portugal's famous Marquis of Pombal, called the Rotunda, where they entrenched themselves. Meanwhile, the sailors at Alcantara revolted and began fighting elements of the Sixth Company of the Municipal Guard. By three o'clock in the morning the firing grew louder and was occurring between various groups in many sections of the city. Having made their way to the Rotunda, the revolutionary forces then attempted to march down the Avenida da Liberdade to the center of the city. Encountering a local fair along the route, they uprooted the booths and used them as barricades when

---

<sup>11</sup>Douglas L. Wheeler, "The Portuguese Revolution of 1910," Journal of Modern History, 44 (June 1972), p. 180.

they met resistance from the Municipal Guards and other elements of the army which had remained loyal to the monarchy. Lisbon's electric system went out, creating a confused conflict between Republicans and loyalists who fought on in the dark for several hours before the insurrectionists finally retreated back up the avenue.<sup>12</sup>

By dawn the royal troops occupied the entire Baixa area (lower part) of the city, while the Rotunda remained in revolutionary hands. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 4th the revolutionary sailors on the cruiser D. Carlos left their vessel and crossed over to Almada, where they seized the fortifications and raised the Republican flag over them. Meanwhile, Manuel remained at the Necessidades, protected by the First Infantry regiment but cut off from the rest of the city. Groups of sailors and armed citizens made attacks upon the royal residence but were driven back by the palace guards. Manuel, realizing that his forces at the palace were insufficient to continue any prolonged defense, telephoned to Queluz and ordered the artillery there to proceed to the Necessidades at once. When the Queluz regiment finally arrived in Lisbon it was directed by army headquarters to aid the loyal forces fighting at the bottom of the Avenida de Liberdade and never got to the palace. With the help of the Carbonária, the Republicans during the early stages of the revolution severed nearly all telephone and telegraph communications between the capital and the provinces. The railroad tracks were sabotaged likewise, interrupting train service throughout the country. The Republicans' actions

---

<sup>12</sup>"The Revolution in Portugal," Independent 69 (October 13, 1910), p. 794.

prevented the royalists from communicating with the outside world until the revolution was an accomplished fact.<sup>13</sup>

The Republicans, having been originally repulsed in their attack upon the king's palace, turned to the navy for help. Three of the Portuguese cruisers at anchor in the Tagus, the Adamastor, the San Raphael, and the D. Fernando, hoisted the red and green Republican flag and took up positions close to the shore, where at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 4th they began their bombardment of the Necessidades. The flagship, the D. Pedro, and the cruiser, D. Carlos did not join in uprising, remaining loyal to the royalist cause for the time being. They, however, abstained from firing on the rebel vessels, thereby indirectly aiding the Republican cause. The bombardment of the palace did little actual damage to the building, as most of the shots, either intentionally or from lack of skill, missed their mark. Some shells did hit the walls of Queen Amelia's suite, cracking the windows and piercing an ornate mirror above the fireplace.<sup>14</sup> More serious damage was done to the tower of the attached Church of Necessidades which was demolished by the bombardment. The king remained within his palace, refusing to flee to safety. To his advisors who implored him to depart with all deliberate speed, he said: "All of you may go if you like. For my own part, since the Constitution assigns me no role except to let myself be killed, I will try to fulfill my part decently."

---

<sup>13</sup>Wheeler, "Portuguese Revolution," pp. 180-181. For a complete hour by hour account of the revolution see the British Foreign Office Report (F. O. 179/494) for October 3-5, 1910 in the Public Record Office, London, England.

<sup>14</sup>Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 153. A personal inspection of the palace on June 8, 1972 revealed the broken mirror, still unrepaired.



Later, when Manuel realized that it was impossible to continue a defense of the palace without artillery, he decided to leave.<sup>15</sup> Escaping by a rear entrance, the king made his way through the large park at the side of the palace and installed himself in a small house in the garden where he could remain in constant telephone communication with the diverse points of fighting within the city. Shortly before his departure from the Necessidades, Pedro Alfonso, the old doorkeeper of the palace, fearful that the royal standard fluttering in the breeze above the building was being used as an indicator for the cruisers' guns, tried to convince the king's aides that it should be taken down. "It can't be," they responded, "The King is in the Palace." Alfonso, disregarding their opinion, climbed out to the insignia while bullets whistled by him and with a knife cut the cords holding it. Just as he did so, a shot from the wardships tore into the mast causing it to fall to the ground.<sup>16</sup>

After a telephone conversation with his prime minister, Manuel decided to follow Souza's advice and leave the city for the relative safety of Mafra or Sintra until the situation could be brought under control. The king ordered automobiles prepared for the journey and began to select the persons to accompany him. Raul de Menezes of the Third Squadron of the Cavalry of the Municipal Guard was entrusted with the king's personal safety. Menezes then selected a platoon of men and planned the route of escape. About two o'clock on the afternoon

---

<sup>15</sup> Manuel's remarks were recorded by Lavradio. See Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, p. 521.

<sup>16</sup> Pabón, La Revolución Portuguesa, p. 109.

of October 4, 1910 Manuel left Lisbon for the last time, taking what he realized himself was possibly the first step toward exile. After changing into civilian clothes, he got into an automobile with his two friends, Sabugosa and Fayal, with Menezes riding on the footboard. The hand-picked platoon surrounded the car as shells continued to burst around the palace. Trouble marred the king's exit. On a hill near the Cross of Olivieras the automobile became bogged down in a deep hole in the street. Manuel and his aides got out of the car and joined the others in pushing it out of the hole. Before lending his hand, the king had taken off several valuable rings and placed them on a nearby wall. Later, as the procession was heading for Benfica, Manuel realized that the rings were missing, forcing the party to retrace its route. He found them exactly where he had placed them. No sooner had he recovered them, however, when a bullet from an unknown source pulverized the wall, forcing a hasty retreat back into the automobile. In Benfica, Manuel declared that he no longer had any need of his escort who could serve the monarchy better by returning to Lisbon. He personally thanked Raul de Menezes, adding the words, "Tell the Council President /prime minister/ that I'm on my way to Mafra, and that I will send news from there."<sup>17</sup>

By six o'clock that evening the sailors from Alcantara, some 2000 of them, had joined the fighting in the capital which was particularly intense in the Rossio and Avenida districts. Revolutionary crowds attacked and seized the police stations at both the Rato and in the Rua do Loureiro. The monarchical forces attacked the Rotunda but failed

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

to dislodge the Republicans there. By the evening of the 4th the insurrectionist forces at the Rotunda and at the Alcantara naval barracks were holding their ground well. It was apparent by that time that, except for a miracle, the government would not be able to defeat the revolutionaries. Much of the Republicans' success belonged to the populares, those armed citizens who threw bombs at, shot at, and generally intimidated the royal troops in downtown Lisbon. Their intervention succeeded in tying down the monarchical forces. In the early hours of the morning of October 5th the revolutionary forces descended the Avenida de Liberdade as far as the Rua das Pretas, while other Republican troops surrounded the Castle of Saint George and the Carmo Convent, calling upon those royalist bastions to surrender. The rumor was spread that loyal troops had gone over to the revolutionary side, and shortly thereafter the Republican flag was hoisted atop the Castle of Saint George and at the Carmo. By the early morning of the 5th of October much of Manuel's capital was in the hands of the Republican forces. Those monarchical troops who remained in the downtown area were largely inactive or on the defensive.<sup>18</sup>

Manuel had been the only member of the royal family in Lisbon at the time of the outbreak of the revolution. His mother was enjoying her usual summer vacation at her beloved Pena Palace high above Sintra, while his grandmother was residing in the old palace in the city below. Manuel's uncle was at the Citadel in Cascais, where he was in no great danger since the population of the area was overwhelmingly friendly to

---

<sup>18</sup> Wheeler, "Portuguese Revolution," pp. 180-183. Also see the British hour by hour account (F.O. 179/494) in the Public Record Office, London, England.

the monarchy. Once Manuel had installed himself in João V's old palace-monastery at Mafra some 27 miles from Lisbon, he contacted the other members of his family. It was decided that the two queens would join the king at Mafra, while the Duke of Oporto would remain for the time being at Cascais. Queen Amelia left the Pena Palace almost immediately. At Mafra she joined her relatively serene son and his aides. There the Marquis of Fayal explained the situation to her. They were joined by Dr. Tomas de Melo Breyner, an old family friend, who bore the title of the Count of Mafra. Queen Maria Pia arrived about an hour later by automobile from Sintra.<sup>19</sup>

At Mafra the royal family realized that they were more isolated from the events in Portugal than they had been previously. Manuel, in his desire to know what was happening, sent an urgent telegram to his prime minister seeking information on the situation in the capital. At 8:24 that evening he received a brief reply from Souza which informed him that the revolutionaries had not been able to descent the Avenida and that reinforcements were arriving from Santarem. At 9 o'clock that evening Manuel dispatched a second message to the prime minister, thanking him for his telegram, but asking for more details. The king concluded his remarks with the words, "All is well here."<sup>20</sup> All was not well for the monarchy in Lisbon. By the morning of October 5th revolutionary elements were swarming all over the city, encountering little or no resistance from the Municipal Guard or the remnants of the loyalists forces. The people of the city not directly involved in the

---

<sup>19</sup> Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, pp. 537-538.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 539-540.

insurrection took no part in what was going on, keeping primarily to their homes. Most supporters of the monarchy, by Wednesday morning, were defecting or surrendering to the Republicans. Manuel's last hope came from an artillery commander named Pavia Couceiro, a devoted royalist who had seen action in Africa. He, almost alone with only a small group of men, made a bold stand for the crown's cause. Planting his artillery in the Edward VII Park, Couceiro opened fire on the Republican artillery encampment in the Rotunda below, inflicting considerable damage. The odds, however, proved to be too great against him and, with no help in sight, he was soon forced to withdraw. Rather than join the revolutionary forces he surrendered to them. After the success of the revolution, Couceiro resigned his commission in the Portuguese army, commenting that he was "too old to begin now the fresh efforts which a new flag implies."<sup>21</sup> By Wednesday morning the revolution was drawing to a close. The Fifth Chasseurs surrendered before noon, followed by the Municipal Guard. All the monarchy's supporters in the capital had given up the fight.

The final act in the drama within Lisbon ended in a rather unusual misunderstanding. The German charge d'affaires, von Schmidthals, appealed to the various commanders in Lisbon to declare a truce at 8:45 that morning to allow the foreign residents of the city to leave the scene of the fighting safely. When a white flag was raised from the government's general headquarters to signify the beginning of the proposed truce, the Republican forces took it to be a gesture of surrender on the part of the monarchists. Fraternization between the aides in

---

<sup>21</sup> Bragança-Cunha, Revolutionary Portugal, pp. 93-94.

the revolution followed, and Machado Santos took the opportunity to lead his forces into the government headquarters, forcing the monarchical commanders to surrender. Actually, the royalist units were in the process of surrendering all over Lisbon by that time since demoralization was already widespread among the king's supporters following his departure from the city.<sup>22</sup>

At 9 o'clock on the morning of October 5, 1910 the Portuguese Republic was proclaimed from the upper windows of the Lisbon City Hall by the loud, clear voice of Eusebio Leão, the civil governor of the city. All the chief Republicans were present. Dr. Bernardino Machado, the titular head of the Party, stood near the front of the group exclaiming Machado Santos as the "father of the Republic."

The fighting had largely stopped after some thirty-one hours. Casualties were rather light. The most reliable figures put the total dead between sixty-five and one hundred, with 728 wounded. Many more civilians were killed than military personnel, with officers suffering the fewest casualties.<sup>23</sup> The Diário do Governo, which up until that point had been the official mouthpiece of the monarchy, announced in its October 5th edition: "Today, 5 of October 1910, was proclaimed a Republic of Portugal in the hall of nobles in the Municipal building of Lisbon, after the completion of a national Revolution." A Provisional

---

<sup>22</sup>Wheeler, "Portuguese Revolution," p. 183. For the armistic agreement signed by the military commander on October 5, 1910 see Ribeiro, A Revolução Portuguesa, IV, 316.

<sup>23</sup>Diário de Notícias (Lisbon), October 11, 1910, p. 1. Most accounts only included bodies at city morgue and hospitals. Among the wounded was Souza who was struck by a shell which exploded in his home.

Government was established to replace the royal regime. Dr. Theophile Braga, an eminent philosopher-professor, was selected to serve as president. Bernardino Machado was designated Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the outspoken Afonso Costa was appointed Minister of Justice. Others in the new government included Antonio Luiz Gomes, Minister of Public Works; Amaro Azevedo Gomes, Minister of Marine; Antonio Almeida, Minister of the Interior; Brazilio Teles, Minister of Finance; and Colonel Antonio Xavier Barreto, Minister of War. It was a cabinet of largely respectable men with elements of strength and distinction.<sup>24</sup> Braga was just the man that the times demanded as he had no personal political ambitions.

When Manuel left for Mafra he commissioned his personal secretary, the Marquis of Lavradio, to remain behind at the Necessidades in order to burn and to destroy papers which, if they fell into the Republicans' hands, might appear embarrassing to the monarchy. After completing his task, Lavradio contacted the Spanish minister to the Portuguese court, the Marquis of Vilalobar, who arranged for the king's secretary to be taken to the Viscount of Asseca's home in a carriage from the Spanish Embassy with the Spanish flag flying in front. Lavradio then communicated with the British minister, Sir Francis Villiers, about possible British intervention on behalf of the royal family. Villiers informed the Marquis that he had no orders to protect the lives of the royal family while he did have definite orders not to intervene in the

---

<sup>24</sup>New York Times, October 6, 1910, p. 2.

revolution except to protect British citizens.<sup>25</sup> With the proclamation of the Republic, Lavradio decided to leave Lisbon. He once again telephoned Vilalobar, who drove him to Mafra later that afternoon. By the time the two men arrived, they found that their Majesties had departed for the neighboring coastal village of Ericeira and the waiting yacht, the D. Amelia.<sup>26</sup>

Throughout the crisis Manuel had maintained a facade of composure. Only upon the strongest pressure from his immediate associates had he agreed to leave his Lisbon palace. Rumor had spread throughout the city that he had taken refuge on board the Brazilian cruiser, seeking political asylum from his guest of a few hours earlier. The revolutionaries even demanded to search the vessel but the commander refused. A request that Brazilian marines be landed to help maintain order in the city was, likewise, rejected. At Mafra, the deposed monarch joined his mother and grandmother for a meal, then held a family conference to decide what course of action they should pursue. It appeared quite obvious that neither of the royal ladies was willing for the king to take any risks to regain his throne, even if he had desired to do so.

---

<sup>25</sup>Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 158. Sir Edward Grey's telegram to Villiers, received October 6, 1910, confirmed the British position. See Foreign Office Reports (F.O. 371/972), Public Record Office, London, England. By an alliance agreement, confirmed in 1903, Great Britain was honor-bound to come to the assistance of the King of Portugal should he be dispossessed by a rebellion, provided the monarch "duly applied for" assistance. Manuel never asked for direct British aid.

<sup>26</sup>Lavradio, Ibid., pp. 158-159. Lavradio left for Gibraltar on October 7th. When he arrived on the 11th he found the royal family "with enormous courage and dignity." He sailed with them to England later that month.



After some discussion it was decided that Manuel might try heading north in hopes of acquiring support for his cause in the Oporto area. Information soon reached him, however, that the revolutionary forces held the roads. Thus their only hope lay in reaching Oporto by sea. One thing was perfectly clear, they could not remain at Mafra indefinitely. The commander of the local military school informed the king that he did not have enough men under his command to properly defend their Majesties.<sup>27</sup>

Manuel notified his uncle of the decision to reach Oporto by sea, ordering him to deliver the royal yacht to the fishing village of Ericeira, the port facility nearest Mafra. At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 5th the Duke of Oporto embarked from Cascais on the D. Amelia, accompanied by his adjutant, D. José de Melo. At 2 o'clock that afternoon the civil governor of Lisbon, Eusebio Leão, ordered that the Republican flag be raised on all public buildings. When Manuel was informed of Leão's command, he realized that his cause was doomed. Moments later a telegram from the port officials at Ericeira indicated that the royal yacht was standing offshore, with Prince Affonso on board, waiting to receive the sovereigns. Uncertain of the message, and fearful that it might be some Republican plot to seize the royal family, the king sent a car to Ericeira to confirm the presence of the yacht. The news of the yacht's presence combined with that of the

---

<sup>27</sup>Times (London), October 8, 1910, p. 6. For the local commander's comments to Manuel see Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 154.

confirmation of the Republic resulted in Manuel's final decision to quit Portuguese soil.<sup>28</sup>

At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of October 5, 1910, Manuel and the two queens left Mafra for the short drive to the sea and exile. They were accompanied by their staffs and twenty cadets from the local military academy. Maria Pia resisted the departure until the very last moment. It made her feel like Queen Maria I fleeing from the advancing French a century earlier. She had spent nearly half of a century in her adopted homeland and she cherished many fond memories. The yacht had arrived off Ericeira at 10 o'clock that morning but anchored some distance from the shore to await the arrival of the royal refugees. It was necessary to row the king and the two ladies, along with their assorted staffs, out to the waiting vessel in two small Portuguese fishing boats. The queens were placed aboard the Navegador, while the young man who had just lost his throne set forth in the Bom-Fin, which ironically meant in the Portuguese language "the good end." Amelia, the granddaughter and the mother of dethroned monarchs, said in departing: "One does not return from exile." Before quitting Portuguese soil, Manuel addressed a letter to his last prime minister, Teixeira de Souza, in which he said: "I am compelled, owing to stress of circumstances, to embark on the royal yacht Amelia, but I wish to inform the people of Portugal that my conscience is clear. I have always acted as a faithful Portuguese and have done my duty. I will ever remain at heart a true Portuguese, and I hope my country will do me

---

<sup>28</sup> Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, p. 578; Peres, Historia, VII, 469. For the story about the car being dispatched to Ericeira see Diário de Notícias, October 14, 1910, p. 2.

justice and try to understand my feelings. My departure must in no way be taken as an act of abdication." To those around him, the king said: "I am a Portuguese. I hope to die in Portugal." He and the members of his party were then placed in the small boat which took them to the waiting yacht.<sup>29</sup> Manuel had entrusted the letter to his prime minister and that Souza publish it as soon as possible. The letter never reached its destination according to Souza, who in his history of the events of October 1910 blamed Serrao Franco for failing to bring it to him. What happened to the original copy of Manuel's letter to his last prime minister remains a mystery. Lavradio and others of the king's supporters felt that Franco probably delivered the letter as commanded but that Souza was not willing to make it public. To the king's friends, the last monarchical prime minister was not only incompetent, but a traitor as well.<sup>30</sup>

Upon the advice of the Spanish minister, the Count of Vilalobar, the royal yacht's original destination was to have been Oporto, which had traditionally supported the liberal branch of the House of Braganza. However, the commander of the yacht, regarded as a traitorous officer by some of Manuel's staff, informed the king that the vessel did not have enough fuel to make the trip northward, and it would have to proceed to Gibraltar. Once that decision had been made Manuel realized that he would probably never set foot on Portuguese soil again. To

---

<sup>29</sup> Cabral, Cartas, pp. 44-45. For the rather biased Republican account of the departure see O Mundo, October 8, 1910, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Souza, História, II, 495. For a copy of Manuel's handwritten instructions to Franco see Ayres de Sa, Rainha D. Amelia, p. 306.

the enemies of the dynasty, it was regarded as an ipso facto abdication which sealed the fate of the last Braganza. Manuel had little choice but to proceed to the British crown colony where the yacht arrived shortly before midnight on the 7th.<sup>31</sup>

On the voyage into exile the young king appeared to have accepted his fate. The yacht was manned by a crew under the command of Moreira de sa. Momentarily expecting to be overtaken by Republican cruisers, the captain headed at full steam out to sea and ultimately reached Gibraltar by steering several false courses. Manuel, although inwardly despondent, remained outwardly philosophical, spending the daylight hours leaning over the ship's rail watching the sea. At dinner the first night, although he was not communicative, the king did join in the attempts to carry on an ordinary conversation. Only once did he refer to the situation in Portugal when he said that it had not taken him by surprise as he had been expecting it to happen sooner or later. Queen Amelia was rather stoic throughout the voyage, but the aged Maria Pia manifested great discomfort and repeatedly broke down in tears. Upon reaching the relative security of Gibraltar, Manuel personally thanked the officers of the yacht for their past devotion to his family.<sup>32</sup>

Manuel's host in Gibraltar was Sir Archibald Hunter, the newly appointed British governor of the crown colony. The Governor visited

---

<sup>31</sup> Sir Charles Hardinge, A Diplomatist In Europe (London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 1927), p. 227.

<sup>32</sup> Times (London), October 12, 1910, p. 5.

the Amelia shortly after her arrival and found the Portuguese royal family full of anxiety over events in Lisbon, Oporto, and the provinces. They entertained grave fears for the fate of certain supporters of the monarchy whose names they gave to the Governor for transmission to the British Legation in Lisbon. Manuel appeared to be very calm and dignified to his British host, qualities also displayed by his mother. Admiral Pelham of the British navy made arrangements for the safety of the yacht at her anchorage in the harbor. Shore boats were not allowed near the vessel and newspaper reporters were prevented from gaining access to the yacht. Manuel entrusted the Governor with a personal message to his king, George V, explaining that the Portuguese royal family had been forced by circumstances to quit Lisbon for the time being and were awaiting news of the events in Portugal which they hoped to receive while in Gibraltar. King Manuel stated that he was ready to place himself at the head of any party in his country who was loyal to his House. He and his mother clung with fervor to the hope that Oporto and the north and other areas distant from Lisbon would rally to their cause and counterbalance the insurrectionary success in the capital. In the meantime they preferred to remain on the yacht, awaiting developments, since they possessed little more than the clothes on their backs.<sup>33</sup>

General Hunter, upon retiring from the Amelia, ordered all the salutes and ceremony befitting the arrival of a reigning Head of State to be observed, which seemed to please the deposed king at the

---

<sup>33</sup>See the various dispatches from Sir Archibald Hunter, October 1910, to the British Foreign Office (F. O. 179/494) in the Public Record Office, London, England.

time. On the morning of October 8th the Governor returned to the yacht to inquire about his guests. During a brief conversation with the king's uncle he found that Manuel desired to be treated as a private individual, having ordered the royal standard to be lowered on the yacht. From the Duke of Oporto, Hunter learned that the royal family's intention was to proceed to London by the first available British packet, returning the yacht to Lisbon since it belonged to the Portuguese nation. Whenever news arrived from Portugal, no matter how small, it was conveyed to the yacht immediately. Messages of sympathy poured into Gibraltar from the various ruling houses of Europe. Manuel and his mother were deeply affected by the receipt of such expressions of kindness extended to them. News from Lisbon confirmed what the Portuguese royal family knew all along, the throne was without support. Hunter tried to persuade them to dine with him at his residence, Government House, or to use the launch and get some fresh air. But they declined all such offers, preferring to remain to themselves on the only piece of Portuguese property they retained. At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 8th the Governor received a letter from Manuel requesting him to come on board the yacht, if convenient, to discuss a subject "of interest to the Portuguese royal family." Hunter proceeded to the Amelia at once. He was informed by the queen mother that the yacht's crew consisted of three officers and forty men who were subject to the orders of the Portuguese government and paid by it. In fairness to those officers and men it was only right that they be permitted to return to Lisbon at once, and that as a consequence the royal family had decided to accept the Governor's generous offer to house them on Gibraltar until future plans could be made. Amelia was then joined by

her son who concurred with his mother's opinion. The queen asked that the Governor rent some house however small, which would be sufficient to accommodate their party. Hunter replied that Government House could accommodate them if Manuel's two aides (Sabugosa and Fayal) did not mind residing with Admiral Pelham in his quarters. In fact, Hunter informed them that he was ready to receive them immediately. Manuel, however, said that he would prefer to remain on the yacht one more night but would land in the morning in time for mass at noon that day.<sup>34</sup>

At twenty minutes before noon on Sunday, October 9th General Hunter drew alongside the Amelia in a launch. The officers and crew of the yacht presented themselves on deck in formation. Manuel and his mother bade each one of them a friendly farewell amidst protestations of devotion from most of the officers and men of the Amelia. Governor Hunter then escorted them to shore, along with their suites, put them in carriages and sent them on their way to mass at the Spanish Cathedral in the city. While the king and his mother attended Sunday services, Hunter returned to the yacht to escort the queen dowager and her son, Affonso, to shore. He then drove with them to Government House where they were joined, in due time, by the two other members of the family.<sup>35</sup>

The Braganzas were still concerned about the situation in Portugal, having received little or no news since their departure.

---

<sup>34</sup> Sir Archibald Hunter, October 15, 1910, to King George V, Foreign Office Dispatches (F.O. 179/494), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

Queen Amelia, in her quest for additional information, wired Sir Francis Villiers, desiring to know "whether calmness prevails or not." On the 10th she received a reply from British charge d'affairs who, in Villiers' absence from the capital, informed her that "perfect tranquillity prevails in Lisbon and seems likely to continue. As far as the Legation is aware no partisan of the royal family had suffered any sort of harm." The royal yacht sailed from Gibraltar that same day after receiving assurances from the new government in Portugal that its crew members would not be punished in any way for their services to the crown in its final hours.<sup>36</sup> The Bragazas moved into a wing of Government House which had been prepared for them. Since the Governor feared possible attempts on the lives of the royal family, he deemed it prudent to limit access by all civilians to the gardens of the residence when the royal family took a walk or engaged in any sort of exercise. To accomodate the entire entourage of the deposed monarch, General Hunter was forced to abandon his quarters, taking up residence in the attic of Government House, an area normally occupied by his staff.<sup>37</sup>

On October 11th the Italian cruiser, Regina Elena, arrived in port. It had been enroute to Cadiz, Spain, but was dispatched to Gibraltar to await Queen Maria Pia's orders concerning her scheduled departure for her native land. She did not desire to settle down in

---

<sup>36</sup>Gaisford's reply to Amelia can be found in Foreign Office Dispatches (F.O. 179/494) for October 10, 1910, Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England. The Amelia was renamed the 5th of October by the new government after her return to Lisbon. Her remains are now housed in Marine Museum, Lisbon.

<sup>37</sup>Sir Archibald Hunter, October 15, 1910, to King George V, Foreign Office Dispatches (F. O. 179/494), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.



England with her grandson and his mother. If she could not return to Portugal she preferred to go to Italy. Originally it was thought that Affonso would accompany her home. The Duke of Oporto, however, changed his mind, deciding that the official landing in Italy of a Prince of a House so strongly inclined to the Catholic Church might prove a disturbing faction in Italian political circles. He would depart for exile in England with his nephew for the time being.<sup>38</sup>

Meanwhile, in London, the Portuguese minister, the Marquis of Soveral, suggested to King George that a British warship be dispatched to Gibraltar to transport the Portuguese royal family to England. The British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, felt that such a strong gesture might prove embarrassing to the government, and counselled against such action. George V accepted Grey's advice, but, not willing to abandon a family with whom he and his father had been on the best of terms for many years, he insisted on sending his own personal yacht, the Victoria and Albert to bring them to England. Grey, anxious to forestall any criticism of the British government, agreed to the king's demand, but coupled his approval with the formal recognition of the new regime in Lisbon. George did not want Britain to be the first of the Great Powers to extend recognition, but Grey's insistence left him with little choice. The British government officially granted recognition to the Provisional Government in Lisbon on October 6th and the

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

royal yacht was soon sent to transport the fugitive guests to England.<sup>39</sup>

On October 13th Hunter wired Sir Francis Villiers in Lisbon asking him to forward Manuel's baggage, including clothing but not jewelry or other valuables. Villiers was to place the luggage on board a steamer sailing directly to Gibraltar on the following morning. Villiers obtained the approval of the Provisional Government but was then notified that Manuel preferred to send a personal aide, D. Vasco de Camara, to Lisbon to supervise the packing and shipping of the king's effects overland to London. When the steamer arrived in Gibraltar on the 14th it contained a number of persons who had remained loyal to the royal family but none of Manuel's belongings. The new arrivals were housed in a hotel adjoining the Governor's residence, creating additional problems for General Hunter and his staff. The British royal yacht arrived in port at 6 o'clock on the afternoon of October 15th. Manuel and his family prepared to leave the following day.<sup>40</sup>

World reaction to the downfall of the Braganzas was one of genuine sympathy even if it was not one of surprise. Knowing the general character of Portuguese politicians, most governments were not certain that the new regime in Lisbon would prove any different from its monarchical predecessors. From Rome grave apprehension was expressed owing

---

<sup>39</sup> Harold Nicholson, King George the Fifth (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1953), pp. 177-178. Also see Sir Edward Grey's personal papers in the Public Record Office (F.O. 800/103) for his correspondence with George V on the subject. The Duke of Windsor, in his book, The Crown and the People (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1954), contended that "against the advice of his foreign minister. . . my father sent his royal yacht."

<sup>40</sup> Sir Archibald Hunter, October 15, 1910, to King George V, British Foreign Office Dispatches (F.O. 179/494), Portugal, Public Record Office London, England.

to the fact that the dowager queen was the aunt of the reigning King of Italy. The Vatican's anxiety was equally strong over the downfall of one of the Church's most ardent supporters among the dynasties of Europe. There was fear in papal circles that the situation in Portugal might produce similar action in neighboring Spain. The French press urged its Government not to intervene in any way. From Balmoral Castle in Scotland where he was vacationing, George V of England sent a telegram to his foreign secretary expressing "much distress" at the news from Lisbon. From her retirement home in Hvidore, in Denmark, the Dowager Empress Marie of Russia addressed a long letter to her son, Nicholas II:

Hvidore, 30th September, 1910

My Dear Nicky,

How dreadful, all that is happening on Portugal. The unfortunate young King, his mother and grandmother, it hurts one even to think of what they have had to go through, escaping as they did in the middle of the night without being able to take even the most necessary things with them. Luckily they got safely to Gibraltar from where poor Queen Amelie telegraphed to Alix /Queen Alexandra/. George sent the yacht Victoria and Albert to Gibraltar to bring them to England, which made Aunt Alix so happy, for she is so fond of them and was so distressed by all these dreadful happenings. What a sad fate for this poor family, already so sorely tired! These Portuguese must be disgusting, not a single person volunteered to lead the group which had remained loyal to the King. It is revolting, especially to see with what ease revolutionaries upset everything, expel their Royal family and set themselves up in their place. I hope the other countries will not recognize this wretched republic.<sup>41</sup>

The Tsar's reply to his mother was much briefer but to the point:

---

<sup>41</sup> Edward J. Bing, ed., The Secret Letters of the Last Tsar (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938), pp. 256-257. The date on the letter is that of the old-style Russian calendar.

What a nasty mess in Portugal! I am just as indignant about this revolution as you. How one hates having to recognise a republic there—we are not going to till everybody else has, and then as late as possible.<sup>42</sup>

The American Republic looked upon the downfall with much less apprehension. The United States minister to Portugal, Henry T. Gage, wrote to the Secretary of State on October 10, 1910, that "the formation of a Provisional Government became an accomplished fact. There has been no pillaging, and good order has prevailed. The King had fled the country, the Republican Provisional Government is supreme in Portugal, and the people have acquiesced in the change."<sup>43</sup>

On their final morning in the British crown colony, the deposed monarch and his mother attended mass and then returned to the Governor's residence to bid farewell to the queen dowager, who had not accompanied them to church due to a case of neuralgia. That afternoon at 2 o'clock Maria Pia boarded the Italian cruiser, Regina Elena to go home. Upon her arrival in Genoa she was greeted by her nephew, King Victor Emmuel III and his family. The little seven year old Prince Umberto was sent down to the dock to receive personally the old lady.<sup>44</sup> Manuel and Amelia followed the dowager queen's departure an hour later when they boarded the British royal yacht and set sail for England. Shortly

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 258.

<sup>43</sup> Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1910 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 827. Hermes de Fonseca had postponed his departure from Lisbon as a result of the revolution and received Braga and Machado on the Sao Paulo on October 6th before sailing. He proclaimed best wishes for the sister republics of Portugal and Brazil.

<sup>44</sup> In a personal interview, June 23, 1972, Umberto recounted the experience for me. Maria Pia died in Italy, July 5, 1911.

before his departure Manuel requested that a special message be published in Gibraltar extending his personal thanks for the generosity shown to the Portuguese royal family during its stay. It read:

His Majesty, King Manuel of Portugal, on leaving Gibraltar, wishes to express his thanks to all the officers and men and also to the general community who have shown so much sympathy and respect to His Majesty, Her Majesty the Queen Mother /Maria Pia/, and Her Majesty, Queen Amelia, since their arrival in this Fortress.

His Majesty is aware that Their Majesties' presence has thrown extra duty upon all ranks of the Garrison, and would like to express to those concerned, his admiration for the general turn out and appearance of the Guards and Sentries, who have so excellently carried out their duties during their stay in Government House.<sup>45</sup>

The establishment of a Republic in Portugal met with little opposition outside Lisbon. It was acclaimed by the people in Oporto and other Portuguese cities with great enthusiasm and with only minor disturbances. The royal governors of the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia raised the Republican flag as soon as the news of the successful revolution reached them.

Of all the other states in Europe in 1910 only France and Switzerland had chosen the Republican path. The question then can be raised: Why Portugal? Many factors combined to deprive Manuel II of his throne. The Portuguese, a proud people with a great heritage, were keenly sensitive of the fact that by the twentieth century they no longer occupied the same relative position in European affairs that they had enjoyed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They blamed their decline in power on the monarchy and on the monarchy and on the strong influence of the Roman Catholic Church upon the government.

---

<sup>45</sup>"Special Fortress Order," October 16, 1910, British Foreign Office Dispatches (F.O. 179/494), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.

Although the Marquis of Pombal had deprived the Church of much of its power over policies in the eighteenth century through the expulsion of the Jesuits, the institution had, nevertheless, maintained a tremendous preponderance over the monarchs of modern Portugal. Nineteenth-century liberals resented the influence exerted upon the sovereign by clerical forces, resulting from the restoration of some monastic orders in the country after 1857, and they denounced Catholicism as loudly as the clerics proclaimed it.<sup>46</sup> By 1910 anticlericalism was common in Lisbon and Oporto and in the surrounding towns. Popular hatred of the Jesuits was intense. When the revolution broke out several convents were burned, scientific equipment was destroyed at the Jesuit College at Campolide, and several priests, including Queen Amelia's personal confessor, were murdered by the populares. In Lisbon anticlerical mobs assaulted the offices of the Catholic newspaper, Portugal, while others attacked the Palavra offices of Oporto. Vandalism of church property also occurred in a number of Portuguese cities. The role of clericalism in Portugal was undoubtedly one of the basic causes of the Revolution, but not the exclusive one.<sup>47</sup>

A contemporary writer, in an article entitled "The Uncrowning of Manuel," concluded that the collapse of the Portuguese monarchy was a result of the dead weight of corruption and extravagance,<sup>48</sup> a

---

<sup>46</sup> A law of 1901 authorized the arrival of any religious order in Portugal provided it pursued educational or charitable goals. See Marques, History of Portugal, II, 22-25.

<sup>47</sup> Francis McCullagh, "Some Causes of the Portuguese Revolution," Nineteenth Century 68 (November 1910), p. 931; Wheeler, "Portuguese Revolution," pp. 186-187.

<sup>48</sup> Henry Paradyne, "The Uncrowning of Manuel," Harper's Weekly 54 (October 15, 1910), p. 8.

contention accepted by most scholars. The Portuguese were a poor people, underpaid and overtaxed. Corrupt government cost them dearly, and the pleasures of the royal family involved large expenditures. To the hard-working Portuguese people, their king should not entertain a Parisian dancing girl, as Manuel was accused of doing, in the royal palace for a weekend and present her with expensive diamond necklaces and ropes of pearls. Such objections came not only from the poor and oppressed, but from well-educated, middle class, liberals as well.

Manuel was not the only member of his family known to be extravagant. Both his mother and his grandmother accumulated large debts during his brief reign. By the outbreak of the 1910 revolution, Maria Pia owed some £12,000 to the local gas works alone. Manuel, however, came by his extravagance naturally, no matter how much he tried to curb expenditures. Carlos had never been able to make ends meet on his substantial annual income. The manipulation of the late king's debts outstanding to the state during the Franco regime had not earned him any great respect as a man of honesty and integrity.<sup>49</sup>

In 1889, the year that Manuel was born, Brazil overthrew her reigning House of Braganza and established a Republic which cost the Brazilians far less to operate than the old monarchy. This fact did not go unnoticed by the Portuguese. They realized that if the largest Portuguese-speaking nation could successfully adopt a Republican form of government, they could also.<sup>50</sup>

The attitude of the monarchical governments during the last

---

<sup>49</sup> Gribble, The Royal House of Portugal, p. 292.

<sup>50</sup> Santos, A Revolução Portuguesa, pp. 170-171.

Braganza's reign also contributed to the successful uprising. The young king's inexperience naturally led him to lean upon those who had traditionally administered the country's affairs. Yet before the first year had elapsed, the politicians had fallen into petty habits of personal competition and party intrigue, and completely oblivious to the past, showed themselves incapable of any combined effort to protect the monarchy. When the revolution finally occurred, the last prime minister and his cabinet simply watched and waited, but did nothing to stem the tide of events. Never once did they seriously attempt to prevent the outbreak of the movement nor to defend the royalist cause by dispersing its enemies. They remained strictly on the defensive, a defense so quiescent that outspoken monarchical critics have called it deliberate treachery. They seemed to have lacked the moral courage to withstand the attack of the Republicans which they more than likely could have beaten back with ease if they had chosen to act. They obviously had a subconscious feeling that it was simply not worth the effort.<sup>51</sup> Souza, with his strong Republican tendencies, was not the right man to defend the monarchy in such difficult times. The Republicans had been delighted with his appointment, knowing that, at heart, Souza was no confirmed defender of the traditional system. His selection in August 1910 had cost the royalist cause some of its best friends and actually spelled doom for the monarchy. Souza's relations with his sovereign had become somewhat strained in the weeks preceding the outbreak of the revolution.

---

<sup>51</sup>Sir Francis Villiers, October 18, 1910, to Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Office Dispatches (F.O. 371/973), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.



This was due in great measure to Manuel's absolute refusal to sign an edict pressed upon him by the prime minister granting a full and complete pardon to all those concerned, directly or not, with the assassination of the late king and his heir. Manuel had been willing to support most of his chief minister's previous requests, but that was one he could not accept. There was to be no exculpation of his father's murderers.<sup>52</sup>

Revolution swept the Braganzas from their throne in October 1910 because of a combination of factors: financial, political, and religious. Yet at the very heart of the revolution was the unescapable truth that an inexperienced young monarch placed all his faith in out-dated institutions and pusillanimous advisors. Under such circumstances, the House of Braganza failed to justify its existence, so it ceased to rule over an ancient kingdom.<sup>53</sup>

Within the narrow scope of his constitutional responsibilities Manuel had done his best. He devoted the two years of his kingship to the study of politics; he presided over the Council of State; and he conferred with his ministers. Yet while he was pursuing his education and fulfilling his formal duties, the old system of rotation in politics fixed its grip once more upon the nation, and in despair it listened more and more to the suggestion that in revolution lay the only hope of reform. Monarchy became an empty tradition, rooted neither in the hearts of the people nor based upon a strong military force. It was bound to crumble and fall as soon as enough men felt strong enough to move against

---

<sup>52</sup> New York Times, October 9, 1910, p. 14.

<sup>53</sup> McCullagh, "Some Causes," p. 939.

it. Manuel belatedly recognized the situation in October 1910, wisely refraining from placing himself at the head of an army of faithful troops. It was not the moment, nor was he the man to coerce the Portuguese nation. It was not worthwhile to make a resolute stand at a heavy cost of human life against men who were fighting to abolish the decadent fabric of monarchicalism. The Provisional Government was only too glad that Manuel and his family had decided to leave peacefully, for Portugal's new leaders had no desire to further humiliate or to punish the last of the Braganzas.<sup>54</sup>

The 1910 Revolution was a response to a long-standing crisis. The Republicans took advantage of the favorable climate of public opinion, the unwillingness of the armed forces to defend the monarchy, and a discredited government. The former monarchical daily newspaper, Diário de Notícias, summed it all up on October 22nd when it said: "Those who did not enthusiastically proclaim the Republic, accepted it without reluctance, as a necessity, as a fatal consequence of the state to which things had come."<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup>Sir Francis Villiers, October 17, 1910, to Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Office Dispatches (F.O. 371/973), Portugal, Public Record Office, London, England.

<sup>55</sup>Diário de Notícias, October 22, 1910, p. 1.

## CHAPTER V

### THE YEARS IN EXILE, 1910-1932

The British royal yacht, the Victoria and Albert, sailed slowly out of the harbor of Gibraltar on the afternoon of October 16, 1910 carrying the deposed Portuguese monarch and his family to a new life in England. As it passed close to the Portuguese coast Manuel could see the towers of his mother's favorite residence, Pena, in the distance. It was to be his last look at his native land. He would spend the remaining twenty-two years of his life as a guest of the British government, making his home first at Wood Norton with his uncle, the Duke of Orleans, and then later in Richmond and Twickenham.<sup>1</sup>

Manuel and his party arrived in England early in the evening of October 19th and were met at dockside by the Duke of Orleans, the Portuguese Minister in England, the Marquis Soveral, and other dignitaries. The young man who had so recently lost his throne appeared somewhat worried to those who observed his arrival; but his mother, as always, seemed to be in good spirits. The royal party boarded a train to Wood Norton that evening.<sup>2</sup>

Wood Norton, the Orleans estate near the pleasant little English town of Evesham, was a baronial retreat where Manuel's maternal

---

<sup>1</sup>Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, p. 607. The Braganzas had spent nine days in Gibraltar since their arrival on October 7, 1910.

<sup>2</sup>Times (London), October 20, 1910, p. 5.

grandparents had spent the greater part of their years in exile. To Amelia it was like returning home after years of living abroad. She had been most willing to accept her brother's invitation when it arrived in Gibraltar and had wired him on October 12th to expect their arrival before the end of the month. The house on the estate had been built by King Louis Philippe's fourth son, the Duke of Amuale, and had passed upon his death to his great-nephew, Amelia's brother, who "reigned" over his domain as an absolute monarch. The Duke of Orleans regarded himself as the de jure King of France and insisted on presiding over his English estate in much the same manner as his ancestors had governed the Kingdom of France in their day. Access to the estate was limited, with a wall ten feet high, topped with iron spikes, to discourage intruders. It was perfect to provide the deposed Portuguese monarch an escape for the time being.<sup>3</sup>

Until the end of the year, Manuel's time was spent adjusting to a new routine. He spent his days hunting, visiting, shopping, and attending parties. A small Portuguese colony had accompanied Manuel to England and settled down near him. It included his loyal servants, men like Lavradio, Sabugosa, and the Count of Figueiro, as well as a host of other members of the aristocracy, including the Count of Galveias, the Duke of Palmela, the Viscount of Asseca, and even his old tutor, Professor Keraush. Together this group of stalwart supporters did much

---

<sup>3</sup>New York Times, October 6, 1910, p. 2. The estate is now owned by the British Broadcasting Corporation and used as its Engineering Training Department.

to lift their dethroned monarch from his melancholy.<sup>4</sup>

Manuel followed his customary habit of attending mass on his first Sunday in England. The king and his party worshipped in the small private chapel located on the grounds of the estate. Queen Amelia looked well to those who observed her, but Manuel still seemed rather pale. The general public, usually admitted to the services, was parred on this occasion by orders of the Duke. Following the mass, Manuel and the others visited the Duke's famous Bear Pits, where Polar bears were kept, and also looked at the Arctic dogs which he had brought back with him from his trips to that region. That Sunday afternoon Manuel enjoyed a walk around the grounds of the estate with is uncles.<sup>5</sup>

On Friday, October 28, 1910 King George and Queen Mary paid a visit to Wood Norton. They arrived by train and were met at the Evesham railroad station by the Duke of Orleans and his aide-de-camp, the Count of Gramont. From the station the sovereigns drove to Wood Norton, where they were cordially received by Manuel, Amelia, and the Countess of Paris. Departing Evesham at four o'clock that afternoon, the British king and queen looked upon their visit to the deposed monarch and his family as a strictly private affair with no political significance.<sup>6</sup>

On Sunday, November 6th, Manuel wrote to his old friend in Portugal, the Bishop of Coimbra, in which he said that his conscience

---

<sup>4</sup> Lavradio, Memoirs, pp. 165-166; Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, p. 608.

<sup>5</sup> Times (London), October 24, 1910, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Times (London), October 19, 1910, p. 13.

was tranquil after a period of thirty-two months of dishonor, injustice, and ingratitude as King of Portugal.<sup>7</sup> It was a stark indictment of those in whom he had placed his trust and of those who had failed him. It was a time for reflection, for within the month he would reach his majority. He had already spent what seemed like a lifetime wrestling with overwhelming problems.

Manuel paid a visit to London, his first since arriving in England a month and a half earlier, on December 2, 1910. Accompanied by the Marquis of Soveral, the deposed monarch visited the shop of the goldsmith and court jeweller to the Romanovs, Carl Faberge at 48 Dover Street. His manners and bearing made an impression upon the clerk, who described the occasion in the following words:

About six o'clock in the evening of the second day of December 1910, I was just shutting up the shop when a youth, accompanied by the Marquis of Soveral, came in. He was deadly pale, but not unnerved. It was impossible to mistake his bearing. I had never seen anything like it, and perhaps never will again. 'Manners are the happy way of doing things.' He was so easy and moved as no other youth had moved before. I felt inclined to say to him: 'Sire, walk in, please, just once again.' He was just of age, his name was Manoel, he had been a King but was a King no longer.<sup>8</sup>

This captures better than any portrait might Manuel's gentleness and refinement. He moved with equal ease among kings and clerks alike.

The Christmas season, the first Manuel had spent outside Portugal, found the deposed monarch making another shopping trip into London with Soveral to purchase gifts for the members of the family, as well as friends and supporters. The two men spent December 20-22, 1910 in the

---

<sup>7</sup> Amelia's Cartas, p. 157.

<sup>8</sup> Henry C. Bainbridge, Peter Carl Faberge (London: Spring Books, 1966), p. 29.

British capital, returning to Evesham by train just in time to place the presents under the Christmas tree. The last days of the year were spent in virtual seclusion with very little activity among the Portuguese royalists camped in the English countryside. There were no visitors to the estate and no trips outside the gates by the exiled monarchs. Manuel and his mother were in the process of packing their belongings once again in order to take up their abode in the London suburb of Richmond-upon-Thames where the deposed king had recently rented a residence.<sup>9</sup> They looked forward to it for it was not only the beginning of a new year but also what they hoped would be a new life as well.<sup>10</sup>

Manuel's financial situation at the beginning of 1911 depended in large measure upon the actions of his successors in Lisbon. Portugal's Provisional Government had, on October 18, 1910, issued a proclamation proscribing the House of Braganza:

Article 1. The family of Braganza, which constituted the Portuguese dynasty deposed by the Revolution of October 5, is proclaimed exiled for all time.

Article 2. This proscription expressly includes the ancestors and descendants of ex-King Manuel up to the fourth generation.

Article 3. It is expressly emphasized that this proscription also applies to the branch of the same family banished by the like constitutional measure.

Article 4. In the event of Article 1 being infringed the infringing member of the proscribed family will be forcibly expelled from Portuguese territory. In the event of persistent infringement the offender will be dealt with in the ordinary course.

---

<sup>9</sup> Times (London), December 31, 1910, p. 8. Manuel had rented Abercorn House, Richmond, for a year (December 1910-December 1911) but did not move there until January 14, 1911.

<sup>10</sup> On January 1, 1911 Manuel received telegrams from the Kings of Belgium, Spain, Italy, Saxony, the Queen of Holland, the Pope, the Emperors of Austria, Russia, and Germany extending best wishes for the New Year. Cabral, Cartas, p. 189.

Article 5. At the earliest opportunity the Government proposes to arrange the financial questions arising out of the case of the exiled family. It will respect all legitimate claims.<sup>11</sup>

Although the decree made it perfectly clear that the Braganzas themselves were no longer welcome on Portuguese soil, it left the question of question of their financial status unresolved. Manuel immediately began negotiations with his Republican successors to claim what he regarded as his personal property. In his hasty flight from Portugal he had been unable to rescue many of the valuable jewels and paintings which belonged to the House of Braganza. Through the good offices of the Kings of England and Spain, the deposed monarch hoped that the Republican government would honor its pledge in the October proclamation that "all legitimate claims" would be respected. Both George V and Alfonso XIII, through their respective envoys in Lisbon, worked to recover as much of the Braganzas' personal wealth as possible.<sup>12</sup>

On October 20, 1910 the Provisional Government rendered its first decision on the former royal family's request. It proclaimed the palaces of the Ajuda, Necessidades, Belem, Mafra, Sintra, and Pena national property belonging to the Portuguese people, but declared that those at Vila Viçosa, Alentejo Porto, and Bicalhoa would be regarded as

---

<sup>11</sup> Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, p. 609. For a complete list of the members of the Provisional Government who issued the decree see Mattoso, Historia de Portugal, Vol. II, p. 356.

<sup>12</sup> Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 177. Nicolson, in his biography of George V, says: "For many months, for many years, King George, through the British minister at Lisbon, sought to persuade the Portuguese Government to restore their personal belongings to King Manuel and Queen Amelia. In the end his intervention was not unsuccessful." Nicolson, King George the Fifth, p. 178.



private property of the House of Braganza. Manuel and his family were to receive any financial benefits accruing to them from their personal property within the country. The Provisional Government, by its actions decided that only the property of the State was to be confiscated and that Manuel's private possessions, including estates belonging to his family, would be respected. After all outstanding royal debts were paid, the deposed family would receive an annual income of some £20,000.<sup>13</sup> On December 30, 1910 the Republican Minister of Finance informed the press in Lisbon that, pending the liquidation of the advances made by the state to the Braganzas before their downfall, he had decided to allow the ex-king to receive the revenues derived from the properties of the royal house in Portugal.<sup>14</sup>

The one member of Manuel's family unaffected by the Government's action was his Italian grandmother, Mia Pia, who had shortly after her arrival in Turin, petitioned the new government to allow her to return to Portugal if it felt itself inclined, to grant her a small living allowance. Maria Pia had spent more than forty years of her life in country and desired to spend her remaining few there as well, living in private. The Republican government studied her request carefully, even examining her pre-nuptial contract, before reaching a decision. In November 1910 the Italian envoy, on the dowager queen's behalf, had an audience with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The minister declared to him that the government was willing to concede an annuity of £13,500 to the widow of the late King Luis, which was approximately the same

---

<sup>13</sup>Times (London), October 21, 1910, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup>Times (London), December 31, 1910, p. 8.

amount she had received from the former Civil List. It was not, however, in a position to offer her a residence in Portugal, no matter how small or private. Her presence in the country would obviously be of utmost discomfort to the Republican regime. Only the National Assembly could amend the proclamation concerning banishment of the royal family as it related to Maria Pia. No such action was ever taken.<sup>15</sup>

On January 29, 1911 the Diário de Notícias announced that the Republican government had decided to grant Manuel a monthly pension of approximately £1,180 and that a check to cover the months from October to December 1910 had already been mailed to him. The British government's intervention upon Manuel's behalf had obviously produced results. Much of the credit for this settlement belonged to the British minister, Sir Charles Hardinge, who through lengthy and even somewhat, tortuous negotiations had convinced the Portuguese government it should make some gesture of good will toward the deposed monarch. Hardinge was particularly pleased that he had been instrumental in recovering for Manuel the possession of some valuable cork forests in the Alentejo region, providing the former monarch with a lifetime source of income, and giving the Braganzas a virtual monopoly on the cork exported from the area.<sup>16</sup>

In April 1911 the Provisional Government received a request from the Braganzas for other jewels and articles of clothing which had

---

<sup>15</sup> Times (London), November 11, 1910, p. 5; November 24, 1911, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Hardinge, A Diplomatist In Europe, p. 224. In 1911 the Braganzas received a shipment of furniture, silver, pictures and other personal belongings. Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 178.

been left behind in the various royal palaces. At first it appeared that the government would acquiesce in the demands, but after some discussion and delay, the Republicans finally decided, in mid-December 1911, that the jewels found in the royal residences at Lisbon, Sintra, Mafra and elsewhere did not belong to the dethroned monarch but to the Republic. The Portuguese cabinet decided to sell the immense collection of almost priceless crowns, rings, bracelets, words, and daggers--all incrustated with precious stones--and place the revenue in the state treasury. Manuel and his family were thus deprived of doing the same thing themselves, as most of the jewels were relics of Portuguese conquests of the past or tributes to Portuguese kings from various native rulers of territories once conquered by Portuguese arms.<sup>17</sup>

By the time Manuel took up his residence at Abercorn House January 1911 his financial problems were largely resolved. During George V's visit to Wood Norton he had offered the exiled king a house in the royal park at Richmond, but Manuel had politely declined the British sovereign's offer, feeling that it might be inconvenience and even isolated. In time he found Abercorn House, which he leased from Sir Harry Maclean. It was neither an especially handsome nor even large dwelling, but it was surrounded by some four acres of grounds, giving it spaciousness and a degree of privacy. It had two floors, a large circular entrance hall, and a library well stocked with travel and reference books. Manuel found it well furnished and comfortable enough to accommodate himself, his mother, and their small staff until some permanent residence could be secured. The Braganzas took up their

---

<sup>17</sup> New York Times, December 14, 1911, p. 9.

residence there on January 14, 1911 and remained until Manuel's marriage in 1913.<sup>18</sup>

Manuel's interest in music was to be a great consolation to him throughout his life, but especially so in the early years of his exile. As a young man in Portugal he had studied music under the guidance of Alexandre Rey Colaco, and had developed a particular appreciation for the works of the great masters like Bach, Beethoven, Handel, and Mozart. Because of the King's strong religious convictions, church music had an unusually great appeal to him. He seemed to draw inspiration and inner strength from hearing it performed. On January 7, 1911, shortly before taking up his residence in Richmond, the royal musician, accompanied by his mother and her brother, the Duke of Orleans, and the Marquis of Soveral, paid a second visit to Worchester Cathedral to hear a private recital by Ivor Atkins, the church organist. The program had been chosen by Manuel himself, who afterwards sent up to the organ loft where he played a work entitled "The Harmonious Blacksmith."<sup>19</sup>

Manuel and his mother stood as sponsors for the baptism of the infant son of the exiled monarch's private secretary, the Marquis of Lavradio, on Sunday, January 15, 1911. The service took place at Saint Elizabeth's Roman Catholic Church in Richmond. The child was named in honor of his godfather, Manuel, which gave the former king much pleasure. Being in Richmond gave him opportunity to have more contact with that

---

<sup>18</sup> Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 166. For a description of the house see the New York Times, January 29, 1911, Part 3, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Times (London), January 9, 1911, p. 8. For a discussion of Manuel's cultural interests see A. Luis Gomes, Dom Manuel II. Universitário, Investigador e Mecenas da Cultura (Lisboa: Portugalia Editora, 1957).

small colony of Portuguese who had followed him into exile. He was once again his own master and no longer the guest of his French uncle.<sup>20</sup>

Manuel also established a number of acquaintances among the members of the British upper class, most of them eager to associate with a king even if he did not have a throne. One of the persons with whom he came into contact in 1911 was Winston S. Churchill. In a letter written to his wife on June 5, 1911, Churchill revealed some of his impressions of the deposed monarch. He found Manuel to be:

really a very charming boy—full of gravity and convictions, and yet in spite of his sorry plight—a boy brimful of life and spirits. He has a great air, natural and compulsive. He is extremely clever and accomplished. We made great friends.

He told me much about his views of Portugal and his hopes of returning soon by a coup d'etat.

I talked to him about the Church—such a strong ally, but demanding such a heavy price and entailing so many powerful foes in a modern state. It is his main prop. He said nothing could be achieved without religion. He began our talk by saying—Mr. Churchill! I am not a leader of the democracy. I am a King and it is as a King I must manage my affairs.

Churchill found him "intelligent, good, and a devout young exile." He marked the letter "secret—lock up or destroy."<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to note that the thirty-five year old Churchill found the twenty-one year old deposed monarch to be still "a very charming boy" at heart.

In many ways Manuel was a man who had been forced to abandon his boyhood and assume responsibilities far beyond his training and interests. After October 1910 he was free to return to the pursuits of his youth and to fulfill many natural interests of his inquisitive mind.

---

<sup>20</sup>Times (London), January 16, 1911, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup>Randolph S. Churchill, Winston S. Churchill, 1901-1914, Vol. II (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1967), p. 341.

On April 11, 1911 he paid a visit to the famous Madame Tussaud's Wax Museum in London, and the following day he lunched with the reknowned Italian inventor, Guglielmo Marconi and his wife. Accompanied by his constant companion since his arrival in England, the Marquis of Soveral, Manuel was present at the Old Palace in Richmond on that Saturday for the luncheon in the inventor's honor.<sup>22</sup> There he mingled with the cream of British society, something he was to engage in frequently in the years he spent in exile. In June he accepted an invitation to visit the ancestral home of the Dukes of Marlborough, Blenheim Palace, where his friend Churchill had been born in November 1874. Its present occupant was the ninth Duke who had married the wealthy American, Consuelo Vanderbilt, in 1895. The Duke was Winston Churchill's first cousin. On the evening of June 5th the Duke gave a ball at the palace in Manuel's honor. Some 150 guests, including the Duke and Duchess of Wellington and the officers of the 3rd Brigade of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, were invited to attend.<sup>23</sup> A few days later, on the 10th of the month, Manuel, as a member of the Order of the Garter, participated in the investiture of George V's heir, the Prince of Wales, into the ancient knighthood. The ceremony took place in the Throne Room at Windsor Castle. Manuel wore his robes and full insignia along with the other Knights of the Order. Following the investiture, a brief religious service was held at Saint George's Chapel on the castle grounds, then the group returned in procession to the castle, presenting as they marched in double file

---

<sup>22</sup> Times (London), April 13, 1911, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Times (London), June 6, 1911, p. 8.

a panoply of color recounting the glory of the Middle Ages.<sup>24</sup>

In July 1911 Manuel experienced a personal loss when on the afternoon of the 5th the dowager queen, Maria Pia, died rather suddenly at Stupinigi Castle outside Turin, Italy. She had returned there recently from visiting the deathbed of her sister, the Princess Clotilde. Upon her return she experienced a number of uremic attacks which proved fatal at 3:15 on the afternoon of July 5th. She was comforted in her last moments by both her sister-in-law, the Queen Mother Margherita of Italy and her nephew's consort, Queen Elena of Italy. Though broken in mind and body since the tragic murder of her son and grandson, Maria Pia had retained much of her regal looks until the end.<sup>25</sup>

Manuel and his family had been notified too late of the old queen's fatal illness to be at her bedside, but Queen Amelia left immediately for Italy upon the ring of her death in order to make final arrangements for the funeral. Manuel was opposed to Maria Pia's body being returned to Portugal for burial under the circumstances, so it was decided that she would rest among her ancestors in the Pantheon of the House of Savoy for the time being. Her funeral took place on July 8th after a mass at the castle of Stupinigi. The body was conveyed to Turin. Upon its arrival there the Archbishop gave the final rites of absolution on the steps of the Church of Gran Madre di Dio in the presence of the King and Queen of Italy, the Crown Prince of Bulgaria, and a host of other dignitaries. Manuel was not among the mourners. After

---

<sup>24</sup> Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 193.

<sup>25</sup> Almeida, Os Últimos Braganças, p. 243. The Duke of Oporto, after his mother's death, renounced all his rights as her heir, thus relieving himself of responsibility for her debts.

the religious ceremony, the hearse conveyed the coffin to the Church of Superga, the burial vaults of the Italian royal family, where it was placed in the tomb of the Princes of Savoy.<sup>26</sup>

Although the queen dowager's death severed one of Manuel's major links with his past, he was more concerned with his future. In the early years of his exile he frequently contemplated returning to his throne. The longer he remained absent from Portugal, the weaker such thoughts became. He was pleased in late July 1911 by the visit to England of his old friend, Alfonso XIII of Spain, who arrived July 28th. The Spanish monarch, who had always expressed an interest in his Portuguese cousin, paid a visit to Abercorn House. The visit did much to revive Manuel's sagging spirits. Alfonso promised to continue his efforts through his diplomatic agents in Lisbon to protect Manuel's financial interests there.<sup>27</sup>

The deposed monarch's desire to return to Portugal was emphasized dramatically on the first anniversary of his downfall, October 5, 1911, when royalist supporters, under the leadership of Pavia Couceiro, launched an attack upon the Republic from bases in northern Spain. Couceiro was a former army officer who had distinguished himself by zeal and bravery in Africa and by his loyalty to Manuel during the 1910 revolution. Unfortunately for the royalists, the attack was rather badly managed, and in spite of the presence of two of the sons of Dom Miguel in the invaders' ranks, it attracted little popular support

---

<sup>26</sup>Times (London), July 10, 1911, p. 5. Maria Pia remains buried at Superga. She is not among the members of the House of Braganza at Saint Vincent's Church in Lisbon.

<sup>27</sup>Lavrado, Memoirs, p. 185.



among the Portuguese people. The Republican government acted quickly and decisively in suppressing the uprising within a few days after Couceiro entered the country. A sizeable number of arrests were made among persons suspected of abetting the royalist cause, and heavy sentences were imposed upon those held to be responsible for such action. Some 200 persons incarcerated in the Lisbon prison of Limoeiro mutinied, but their uprising was quickly quelled. The Republican government took energetic measures to punish all persons supporting or endorsing the reestablishment of a monarchy within the country.<sup>28</sup>

Manuel's involvement in the 1911 uprising is somewhat unclear. The Reuter's Agency in London was authorized by him to state that he had no connection whatsoever with the events in Portugal. Yet in July, shortly before the uprising, a Madrid newspaper, El Liberal, carried a story concerning an interview with the son of Homer Cristo, a Portuguese monarchist and publicist, who declared that the exiled king was personally directing and financing a campaign to provide for his restoration to the throne. This was obviously an exaggeration, but contained an element of truth. Manuel wrote a letter to his long time friend, the Marquis of Lavradio, on August 28, 1911 in which he mentioned providing some £11,000 for a royal incursion into Portugal from Galicia in northern Spain. The deposed monarch was hoping for a successful uprising in the Braganza and Douro provinces of the north which had been strongly monarchical in spirit for centuries. When the Couceiro adventure failed, he naturally disavowed any involvement in it. It had occurred at the same time that national elections were being held

---

<sup>28</sup>Hardinge, A Diplomatist in Europe, p. 232.

throughout Portugal to choose the first elected Republican government. The Portuguese people were much more intent on giving the new form of government a chance than they were in reestablishing the old monarchy.<sup>29</sup>

A letter written to the Editor of the Times in London was published on October 7, 1911 suggesting that the exiled monarch at Abercorn House had been behind the unsuccessful uprising in northern Portugal and should be expelled from the country. It was signed simply, "old friend of Portugal." The British government took no action to follow through with the suggestion. On the last day of the month, Manuel issued an official proclamation from his residence in Richmond professing to a loyal Portuguese, neutral in the matter of the recent uprising, and full of love for his homeland.<sup>30</sup> By the end of the year, matters had calmed down considerably, but the question of Manuel's return to his throne was in no way resolved. He spent New Year's day, 1912 as a guest of the British royal family at Sandringham, looking forward to a better year than the one which had just ended. From the serenity of the Norfolk countryside he was able to send best wishes to many of his friends and supporters.<sup>31</sup>

If Manuel was going to strengthen his position within Portugal it seemed mandatory that he come to some understanding with the Migueline

---

<sup>29</sup> Bragança-Cunha, Revolutionary Portugal, p. 159. For Manuel's letter to Lavradio to see Cabral, Cartas, pp. 190-191. For the El Liberal interview see the New York Times, July 25, 1911, p. 4. Dr. Manuel Arriaga, the 70 year old Rector of Coimbra University, was elected President of Portugal in October 1911.

<sup>30</sup> For the full text of the proclamation see Lavradio, Memoirs, pp. 207-208. For letter to Times see October 7, 1911, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> Cabral, Cartas, p. 347.

branch of his family. The fact that two of the sons of his cousin had participated in the abortive uprising in October 1911 proved that the conservative branch of the family was, itself, interested in establishing claims to the vacant throne. The cause of the restoration of the monarchy was hampered, in part, by the fact that Manuel had no heir, outside of his aging uncle, to succeed him if the Braganzas were ever restored. The deposed monarch, therefore, decided to initiate negotiations with the Migueline branch of the House of Braganza to reach some accord on succession to the Portuguese throne provided the King returned to power within the not too distant future. Such negotiations were undertaken at the Lord Warden Hotel in the English seaside city of Dover on January 30, 1912 between representatives of the two branches of the royal family.<sup>32</sup> Pavia Couceiro was able to draw up an accord, known afterwards as the Pact of Dover, which provided that Dom Miguel agreed to recognize Manuel as king, and that, following Manuel's death Miguel and his descendants would be regarded as the king's direct successors. Manuel and Miguel exchanged letters affirming the Pact on February 6, 1912.<sup>33</sup> Miguel, from his residence in Austria, had issued a statement on the subject as early as January 6, 1911, when he said:

After the assassination of King Carlos, I thought it my duty to contribute as far as possible to the maintenance of the then existing dynasty. I wrote to my cousin, King Manuel, saying that I was ready to recognize him immediately as King, in case he should recognize my House to be next in the order of succession after his, and to permit me and my family to reside in Portugal.

---

<sup>32</sup>Caetano Beirão, El-Rei Dom Miguel I e a sua descendência (Lisboa: Portugalia Editora, 1943), p. 29.

<sup>33</sup>Lavrado, Memoirs, p. 219.

King Manuel replied thanking me for my letter, and expressing readiness to accept my proposal, which, however, he would be obligated to lay before the Cabinet, and the Cabinet to lay before Parliament. King Manuel added that my letter had given great pleasure to his mother, Queen Amelia, who wished him to tell me that it had procured her the first moment of gladness since the great misfortune that had befallen her.<sup>34</sup>

After the October revolution Miguel had held himself ready to mount the throne if the monarchy was reestablished and the Portuguese people wanted him. He felt that his dynastic duty bound him to answer any call put forth to him by the people. "If it must be, I am ready," was his reply to those who asked his interest in being the King of Portugal.<sup>35</sup>

Manuel, of course, had other thoughts about his cousin replacing him on the Portuguese throne. As long as he was young and able himself, he hoped for a restoration of the Coburg line. In a letter to his old friend, the Bishop of Coimbra, on March 12, 1912, the exiled king expressed his hope that the future would be better for both himself and the Portuguese people and that the monarchy would be able to return soon.<sup>36</sup>

In April 1912 Manuel left England for his first visit to the European continent since his arrival eighteen months earlier. He visited Switzerland and then stopped off for a brief period of time in the small German state of Sigmaringen, the home of the Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family. The head of the non-reigning family was Prince William of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a son of the Princess

---

<sup>34</sup>Times (London), January 7, 1911, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Amelia's Cartas, p. 259.

Antonia of Portugal, the late King Luis' sister. Antonia had married Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen on September 12, 1861, in an impressive ceremony in Lisbon. Seven years later he emerged as the central figure in his family's claims to the vacant Spanish throne, an event plunging France and Prussia into a major war. Leopold died in Berlin on June 8, 1905 and his eldest son, William, succeeded him as head of the family.<sup>37</sup> William had married a Princess of Bourbon-Sicily, whom the family called "Madi," a niece of Francis II of the Two Sicilies. Her mother had been a Bavarian Wittelsbach, and she possessed some of that family's eccentricity. Madi had never really found her niche in the Hohenzollern family, although she did provide her husband with three offspring, a daughter named Augusta Victoria (born August 19, 1890), and twin sons, Friederich Victor and Franz Josef (born August 30, 1891). William himself was regarded by those who knew him as a "dear, kind-hearted fellow." Although inclined to stoutness, he did not have the snub features and characteristic eagle nose of the other Hohenzollerns.<sup>38</sup> Madi, while good-looking, was exceedingly thin, with pale blue eyes and a harsh voice. Her health was poor and she was an invalid for much of the later years of her life. She spent very little time in Sigmaringen and saw very little of her children, to whom she was a mother in name more than in fact. The three children were largely reared by servants.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Almanach de Gotha, 1909 (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1909), p. 72.

<sup>38</sup> Marie, Queen of Rumania, The Story of My Life (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), pp. 215-216.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 220-221.

Leopold of Hohenzollern's younger brother, Charles, had been chosen Prince of Rumania in 1866. Having no children of his own to succeed him to the Rumanian throne, Charles first offered his nephew William the right to be his heir-apparent. William declined the honor in a formal renunciation on November 22, 1888, and two years later William's younger brother, Ferdinand, became the Crown Prince of Rumania.<sup>40</sup> Manuel, on his visit to the small principality of Sigmaringen in the spring of 1912 found it to be a cosy little town nestling beneath the shadow of the old fortress-like castle of its ruling family. It was a perfect picture of pre-war Germany, serene and content with its existence. Although small, the Sigmaringen court was well-run and even slightly pompous, with a good deal of ceremony. The castle itself was full of magnificent things, for William's grandfather, Carl Anton, had been a great lover of art. Due to his efforts Sigmaringen castle possessed an exceedingly interesting little museum with a valuable collection of old paintings, sculptures, missals, glass and metal works. The Princess Antonia, William's mother, had inherited some beautiful old Spanish and Portuguese objects from her father—furniture, china, ancient statuettes and some old silver. The Princess had been an excellent painter, with a deep love of beauty. To Manuel, with his own deep cultural interests, Sigmaringen was indeed a fascinating place.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to the cultural atmosphere which Manuel found prevailing at the small court, he was also attracted to Prince William's

---

<sup>40</sup>Times (London), January 9, 1893, p. 5. Rumania became a Kingdom in 1881, with Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as its first king.

<sup>41</sup>Queen Marie, My Life, pp. 217-219.

daughter, Augusta Victoria, who was only a year younger than himself. She had been born in Potsdam, outside Berlin, in 1890, but brought up amidst the pleasant surroundings of Sigmaringen. Through her grandmother, Princess Antonia, she and Manuel were second cousins, and the fact that she had Portuguese blood flowing in her veins made her even more interesting to the young ex-king. He returned to England late that spring with pleasant memories of his visit to Sigmaringen and his first meeting with Augusta Victoria.<sup>42</sup>

No sooner had Manuel returned to Richmond than his loyal supporters, led once again by Pavia Couceiro, staged a second uprising in his behalf in Portugal. On July 6, 1912, Couceiro and his forces penetrated into the Minho and Traz-os-Montes districts of northern Portugal. The invasion had been planned for an earlier date but was delayed by the seizure of a Belgian vessel in Dutch waters carrying a supply of arms and ammunition for the royalists. Couceiro's forces had crossed the Portuguese border at three places, but were met with strong opposition at the small town of Montalegre. Scattered sympathy was expressed for Couceiro's efforts at Cabeceira de Bastos, the citizens, led by their local priest, fought for a time Republican troops—but no strong support manifested itself. By July 20th the entire movement had been crushed and its leaders had fled back into Spain. The failure of this second attempt in July 1912 signalled the end of monarchical efforts until the conclusion of the First World War.<sup>43</sup>

Manuel, by now resigned to the failure of efforts to restore

---

<sup>42</sup>Times (London), September 4, 1913, p. 6.

<sup>43</sup>Hardinge, A Diplomatist in Europe, p. 243.

him by force, issued two manifestos shortly after the July uprising had been crushed. The first one, dated September 15, 1912, was in the form of a long letter addressed to Portuguese emigres living abroad. In it he called upon his supporters to have patience; the monarchical cause was not yet dead, but it could best be served at the present time by refraining from armed uprisings. In the second manifesto of October 1, 1912, Manuel said:

I am and always shall be at the post of duty at the head of my people, to serve their aspirations for liberty, justice, toleration, and social peace, which the monarchy always assured by laws and respect for those laws.<sup>44</sup>

Manuel, by his second manifesto, made it clear that he felt an obligation to continue to work for the Portuguese people, either in the country or abroad. After 1912 Manuel restrained his supporters as much as possible from fruitless enterprises against the Republic.

One of the deposed monarch's closest friends during his years in exile was another young prince, Christopher of Greece, the youngest son of King George I (1863-1913). The two men met in London in 1912 and became companions almost at once. The Greek prince was surprised that Manuel's change in fortunes had not affected his sense of humor. Christopher found the exiled king's gaiety to be infectious, with almost "a schoolboy's love of fun." Christopher recalled, in his memoirs, the time he spent an evening with his sister at her home in Harrogate and Manuel arrived after dinner accompanied by his equerry, whom the Greek described as "a venerable looking Portuguese gentleman, with a

---

<sup>44</sup>For the complete text of the first manifesto see Cabral, Cartas, pp. 375-378. For the second one see New York Times, April 21, 1913, p. 3.



short white moustache." The visit began in a most formay way with polite conversation, but before it ended they were all under the table squirting siphons of soda-water at each other. The poor old Portuguese gentleman, who enjoyed it the least, according to Christopher, got thoroughly wet.<sup>45</sup>

After Manuel married Augusta Victoria in 1913, he and his wife stayed with Prince Christopher and his wife at their villa in Rome on several occasions. According to Christopher, Manuel loved the atmosphere of the Eternal City. While in Rome a constant procession of cardinals and other dignitaries of the Vatican would visit with the deposed king, and, if he were not receiving the, he was attending service at some church in the city. Manuel's devotion to the Church, like his devotion to his friends, remained constant throughout his life. Prince Christopher once wrote: "As a friend few people could ever have inspired more affection than he."<sup>46</sup>

Manuel left England on March 25, 1913 for another visit to Europe. In April he returned to Sigmaringen and on the 20th of that month he telegraphed to the Marquis of Lavradio his intention of marrying the Princess Augusta Victoria. Such news caused much excitement among Manuel's supporters. It provided them with the thoughts of a new queen and eventually heirs for the throne. Such things were indispensable for the monarchy's future.<sup>47</sup>

The formal engagement took place at Sigmaringen castle three

---

<sup>45</sup> Christopher, Memoirs, p. 101.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>47</sup> Lavradio, Memoirs, pp. 230-231.

days after Manuel's arrival there. On June 3, 1913 her father, the head of the House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, announced that he was providing his daughter with a dowry of \$200,000, a figure which Queen Amelia found quite satisfactory.<sup>48</sup>

On May 10th it was announced that the wedding would take place in early September in the small principality. The deposed monarch then left for England where in late June he played host to his fiancée and her father who were in London shopping for her trousseau. Manuel motored into the city every morning to visit with her at Claridge's Hotel. He brought her bouquets of flowers and went on shopping excursions with her, almost unnoticed in the hustle of city traffic. It was an exciting interlude for both of the young people and an opportunity for them to get to know each other much better.<sup>49</sup>

Manuel decided in 1913, shortly before his marriage, that the time had come to purchase a permanent residence so that he would be able to bring his new bride to their own home after the honeymoon. After some searching, he finally located a small estate in Twickenham, just across the Thames River from Richmond. Twickenham had some sentimental attraction for Manuel since it was the birthplace of his mother. Amelia had been born there on September 18, 1865 while the exiled Orleans family was residing in England. Louis Philippe, as Duke of Orleans before becoming King of the French in 1830, had taken up his residence at the Octagon House in Twickenham. In 1852, two years after his death, his widow, Queen Marie Amelie, purchased the house from its

---

<sup>48</sup> New York Times, June 4, 1913, p. 11.

<sup>49</sup> New York Times, May 12, 1913, p. 3; Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 232.

owner, the Earl of Kilmorey. In 1855 it came into the possession of her fourth son, the Duke of Aumale, who retained it until March 1877.<sup>50</sup> Octagon House itself was not available for purchase in 1913, but just down Staines Road, west of the city of Twickenham, stood Fulwell Park. It contained a large white house regarded by many as the finest residence in the neighborhood. Part of the dwelling dated back to the days of James II (1685-1688), but the major portion was Georgian. The house had a score of bedrooms, six reception rooms, four baths, and a large lounge area with old cathedral-glass windows. The grounds, which bordered on to the River Crane, covered some fifty acres, with well-kept lawns, flower gardens, a kitchen garden, vineries, a tennis court, and a nine-hole golf course. There was even a large greenhouse attached to one side of the main house. The River Crane flowed through the lower part of the estate, providing boating and fishing.<sup>51</sup>

The mansion at Fulwell Park was in excellent condition at the time of Manuel's purchase. The entire house and its adjacent buildings had been recently overhauled, with electricity installed throughout. Within the mansion itself there was a large drawing room and a beautifully decorated ballroom, with ceiling designs of sixteenth century Italian workmanship. Manuel's favorite room was the library, which

---

<sup>50</sup>Taken from a pamphlet entitled "Orleans House," published by Steller Press, n. d. Visited June 11, 1974.

<sup>51</sup>Surrey Comet, December 11, 1926, n.p. This article was found in a collection of materials relating to Manuel II in the Twickenham Reference Library, Twickenham. Fulwell Park was said to have derived its name from a spring of good water found on the grounds.

overlooked the gardens as they sloped down to the River Crane. Ornamental flower vases dotted the lawns which were meticulously kept. There was even a billiard room, with a skylight, where the deposed monarch could enjoy a game in the evenings before dinner.<sup>52</sup>

To insure the new residents' privacy, there was an entrance lodge on the road between Twickenham and Hanworth which checked the flow of visitors into the estate. The mansion was conveniently located about a mile from the Twickenham and Fulwell stations on the South Western Railway, affording easy access to the city of London. The estate provided stabling accommodations for upward to twelve hacks and eight carriages or motorcars.<sup>53</sup> Once Manuel and his wife had settled down at Fulwell Park the gardens were dedicated to the cultivation of roses. Manuel also enjoyed the River Crane where he often rowed with his wife in a small boat. It was to be, for the remaining nineteen years of his life, an idyllic home—the perfect retreat for a deposed monarch.

Some renovation was done on the house itself during the first few weeks in September 1913 while Manuel and his bride were on their honeymoon. Manuel, who disliked the color blue, had much of the old, mostly blue furniture sold. He chose to replace the blue furniture, blue curtains, and blue carpets, as well as the blue tinted wall paper, with various shades of red, rose, and pink.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Daily Telegraph, August 23, 1913, n.p. Found in the collection of materials at Twickenham Reference Library, Twickenham.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> New York Times, September 21, 1913, Part 3, p. 1. Queen Amelia continued to live at Abercorn House until July 1920, when she took up her residence at the Chateau Bellevue in France.

Manuel left England August 16, 1913 for the home of his fiancée in Sigmaringen, accompanied by a small suite, including his personal secretary, Lavradio. The charming little town of Sigmaringen was preparing for the upcoming royal wedding when he arrived. Triumphal arches adorned with flowers lined the route between the railroad station and the castle. Queen Amelia arrived in town on the 2nd of September, two days before the wedding. The following day the remaining royal guests arrived. Prince William, the bride's father, and his brother, Charles Anton, spent most of that day at the station welcoming the distinguished visitors.<sup>55</sup> England's Prince of Wales (later Edward VIII), representing his father, arrived shortly after noon. He joined the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the Infante and Infante Carlos of Spain (representing Alfonso XIII), Prince Eitel Friedrich (representing his father, William II of Germany), the Duke of Genoa (the Italian royal family's representative), the Duke and Duchess of Aosta, the Duke of Montpensier (representing the Bourbon family), Prince Carol and Princess Elizabeth of Rumania (representing Augusta Victoria's uncle, King Carol I), the Grand Duke and Duchess of Baden, and several members of the Wurttemberg royal family. Manuel's uncle, the Duke of Oporto, was also present for the occasion. It gave him a certain pleasure to witness his nephew's wedding which he hoped would produce a new crown prince for the House of Braganza and relieve him of that role.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 233.

<sup>56</sup> Joaquim Leitão, As Alianças das Casas de Bragança e Hohenzollern (Porto: A. J. Silva Teixeira, 1913), p. 242. See the New York Times, September 5, 1913, p. 4 for a full account of the wedding.

On the evening of September 3rd Prince William played host to seventy-four guests at a banquet in the castle's Portuguese Gallery which was hung with beautiful Gobelin tapestries. On the wedding day, September 4, 1913, the road between the castle and its parish church, where the religious ceremony took place, was lined with soldiers and school children. The little capital of the principality had made itself as attractive as possible, although every effort was made at the same time to represent the event as a purely family affair. Manuel's old friend, Cardinal Neto, the Patriarch of Lisbon, who had baptized him as an infant and who had administered his first communion, officiated at the religious service. Count August zu Eulenburg, the Grand Marshal of the Imperial Court of Germany, presided over the civil ceremony which followed.<sup>57</sup>

The wedding took place in overcast weather. The party processed to the music of Lohengrin's famous wedding march. Manuel wore short black pants with long knee-socks, coat and tails, while his bride dressed in the traditional white gown with a long lace veil. Following the ceremony a luncheon for 150 guests was served in the castle's Portuguese Gallery. Among Manuel's Portuguese supporters present for the event were the Duke of Palmela, the Count of Sabugosa, the Count of Figueiro, the Viscount of Asseca, the Marquis of Soveral, Dr. Antonio de Lencastre, and João de Azevedo Coutinho.<sup>58</sup> Shortly after 5:30 that afternoon the young couple left Sigmaringen for their

---

<sup>57</sup>Times (London), September 4, 1913, p. 6.

<sup>58</sup>Leitão, As Alianças, p. 261. Manuel's costume closely resembled the formal court attire of the 17th century.



Manuel and his bride at Sigmaringen at the time of their marriage, September, 1913.

honeymoon near Munich.<sup>59</sup>

The first of the misfortunes which were to beset Manuel's marriage occurred while on the honeymoon. Somewhere near the end of the month, Augusta Victoria was taken ill and had to be rushed to a private hospital in Munich. The local physician in the village where they had been honeymooning was unable to provide the necessary treatment for his illness. Since nature of the illness was not revealed, the press engaged in all sorts of rumors concerning both her health and her marriage. On September 25th an official bulletin regarding her condition was issued from Munich which described her illness as " a temporary attack of influenza." By that time she had been discharged from the hospital and was convalescing at the home of the Princess Friedrich of Hohenzollern in the city.<sup>60</sup> Augusta Victoria's illness forced Manuel to postpone his plans to take his bride to England at the end of the month. It was decided that she would return to Sigmaringen where she would remain until her convalescence was completed. Despite the bulletin of September 25th, Dr. von Romberg, Professor in internal medicine at Tübingen University, was called in for consultation, rumors persisted that her illness was far more serious than influenza.<sup>61</sup>

A number of unfounded stories began to circulate that Augusta Victoria had deserted Manuel within a few days after the marriage as a result of "irreconcilable incompatibility of temperament having revealed itself." Such rumors were very likely the work of secret agents

---

<sup>59</sup>Sanches, O Rei Saudade, p. 34.

<sup>60</sup>New York Times, September 26, 1913, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.



of the Republican government in Portugal who made every effort to exaggerate the illness in order to disappoint the hopes of the Portuguese monarchists that an heir might be produced from the union. The exiled king himself showed the deepest concern throughout the ordeal for his wife's health and spent every possible moment the doctors would permit at her bedside.<sup>62</sup> His mother reacted strongly to the attacks upon her son's marriage. From Paris, where she was visiting in early October, Queen Amelia issued a statement which said:

King Manuel, myself, and our suite are extremely indignant at the stories that have been circulated. Queen Augusta Victoria contracted illness through a walk on a very cold night and at one time we feared typhoid fever. Happily that danger is over.<sup>63</sup>

Such forthright revelation from the very beginning of the illness would have done much to dampen the idle talk occasioned by the secrecy.

By the spring of 1914 the newlyweds had set up housekeeping at Fulwell Park. With his bride at his side, Manuel plunged into the full swing of the London social circles. On June 23rd he and his queen were guests of the Duke and Duchess of Wellington at a dinner at Apsley House. The Marquis of Soveral and the Viscount and Viscountess of Asseca were among the numerous notables present.<sup>64</sup> It was really the twilight for such gatherings among the upper crust of European society, for Europe was shortly to be drawn into the First World War. On June

---

<sup>62</sup> New York Times, October 1, 1913, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> New York Times, October 9, 1913, p. 9. Lavradio, in his Memoirs, said it was gastric fever, p. 237.

<sup>64</sup> Times (London), June 3, 1914, p. 11. Ibid., June 24, 1914, p. 11. Manuel and his wife actually returned to England on January 16, 1914 after spending a few days in Paris en route. The death of her grandmother, Antonia, delayed their arrival somewhat. Princess Antonia died December 27, 1913.

28, 1914 Manuel heard the news of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand's death at Sarajevo. It reawoke in him all those old horrors associated with the assassination of his own father and brother. His heart went out to the Archduke's three children, like himself victims of a national tragedy. On June 29th Manuel went to the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Belgrave Square, London to pay his respects to the memory of Francis Ferdinand whom he had met in 1910 at the funeral of the late British king, Edward VII. He found George V and other dignitaries there to express their profound grief.<sup>65</sup>

The World War found the sympathies of Manuel and his consort on opposite sides. Augusta Victoria, a Hohenzollern, was naturally pro-German in sentiment. Manuel, due to Portugal's long-standing alliance with Great Britain, was equally pro-Entente. The conflict placed a strain on their marital relationship.<sup>66</sup> Manuel at first hoped to offer his services to his native country if Portugal decided to enter the war. During his years in exile he had worked hard for his native land, especially behind the political scenes, and never bore any personal malice toward those who had expelled him.<sup>67</sup> When he was rebuffed by the Portuguese Republic, who could not afford to invite him home under any circumstances, he tendered his offer to the British government.

---

<sup>65</sup>Times (London), June 28, 1914, p. 11; Ibid., June 30, 1914, p. 11.

<sup>66</sup>One of Augusta's brothers, Frederick Victor, served in the German Imperial Navy during the war and saw action in the battle of Jutland (May 1916). Sanches, O Rei Saudade, p. 35.

<sup>67</sup>Edgar Prestage, "Reminiscences of Portugal," Portugal and Brazil, edited by H. V. Livermore (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 9.

On August 15, 1914, Manuel wrote a letter to João de Azevedo Coutinho, one of his lieutenants in Portugal, which subsequently appeared in A Restauração, a monarchical publication, on the 29th of the month. In his long letter, the deposed monarch said:

I was very glad to receive your letter dated from Berck-Plage, as I have for some days been desirous of writing to you on a matter of the greatest importance; I did not do so before, as I was afraid that my letter might get lost.

In view of the extreme gravity of present events, I think it is essential that my lieutenant should know my opinion and that he should make it known to my friends and give it the widest publicity in Portugal.

The present circumstances are so exceptionally critical that we must put aside, as long as they exist, every and any political consideration and think solely and exclusively of our mother country. We Portuguese must all be united without distinction of political cause or colour, and we must all strive to maintain the integrity of our beloved country, whether serving in Portugal in home defence or fighting in the ranks of the Allied Army.

It is my opinion therefore and my desire that the Portuguese monarchists should show that at this time of anxiety they place before everything the thought of their country and the defence of its sacred soil.

For my own part and always with the same end in view, I have already offered myself unreservedly to his Majesty the King of England for any work that may be of service to the traditional alliance which has existed between the two countries for six centuries.

Believe me, my dear Joao Coutinho, yours  
very sincerely,

Manoel R.<sup>68</sup>

As Manuel pointed out in his letter, he had visited King George V on August 13th to offer his services to the British government in any capacity in which he might be of some assistance. In a letter dated August 20, 1914, the exiled king once again emphasized his desire to place himself at the disposal of Portugal's ancient ally. Concerned

---

<sup>68</sup>Times (London), October 22, 1914, p. 6. Coutinho immediately offered his services to the Republic, pointing out that although he was still a monarchist by conviction, he thought that monarchy and republic should stand united at this time in Portugal's history. His offer was rejected.

about possible German aggression against Portugal and her colonial possessions, Manuel took the view that "The Portuguese Monarchists must first think of their country and the defense of its sacred soil." Since he would not be allowed to return home, he hoped to serve in any manner the British sovereign decided whereby he might render effective support to the Allied cause.<sup>69</sup>

Manuel's willingness to offer his services to the Allied governments caused some concern. They were unwilling to let him serve in any position which might expose him to physical danger. After some discussion, it was decided that Manuel would be offered service with the British Red Cross, which would confine him to the relative security of the British Isles. This decision obviously brought the young man no great pleasure, for he had hoped to see action with the British or French forces fighting on the continent. Yet, in retrospect, Manuel's service with the Red Cross brought him a great sense of fulfillment for he played an active role in the rehabilitation program for wounded and disabled servicemen. The war years were to be extremely busy ones for the deposed king who, until that point, had found little worthwhile to do with his life in exile.

In early 1916 Great Britain asked the Portuguese government to seize a number of merchant vessels belonging to the Central Powers, which had taken shelter in the nation's harbors since 1914. The Republican government, somewhat fearful of the motives of Imperial Germany and her allies in regard to the republican regime in power in Lisbon, under pressure from London agreed to honor the British request.

---

<sup>69</sup> Bragança-Cunha, Revolutionary Portugal, p. 200.

Portugal's decision to side with the Entente Powers resulted in a German declaration of war on March 3, 1916. Austria followed suit and Portugal found herself at war with the Central Powers by the middle of the month.

When Portugal entered the war in 1916 Manuel appointed an official representative in the country, Ayres de Ornelas, to serve as a liaison between the monarchists and the Republicans, both of whom were now working for the same cause.<sup>70</sup>

Manuel, in a telegram addressed to his friends in Portugal and abroad, advised them, once again, to cooperate with the Republican government in the task imposed by the German declaration. His uncle, the Duke of Oporto, offered his service as a military officer to the Portuguese government. It was politely refused. The Migueline Braganzas, who had been serving in the Austrian Red Cross and in the armies of the Central Powers until that point, resigned their commissions rather than take up arms against their native country. For once the House of Braganza stood united in its opposition to the war policies of Germany and her allies.<sup>71</sup>

On March 17, 1916, Manuel issued yet another manifesto to his supporters in Portugal and abroad. In it he said:

I ask you to give the widest publicity to these my instructions. In view of the state of war all political questions must be absolutely set aside, and we must only think of our well-beloved country.

---

<sup>70</sup> Marques, History of Portugal, II, 167. For Manuel's appointment of Ornelas as his official liaison see Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 250. Ornelas served as Manuel's representative in Portugal until his death in December 1930.

<sup>71</sup> Times (London), March 17, 1916, p. 8.

Every one must offer his services to the Portuguese Government and join in the effort to attain the final victory of the Allies. I know too well the devotion and patriotism of my partisans to doubt for one moment that my instructions will be faithfully followed.<sup>72</sup>

This was a sincere reflection of the deposed monarch's feelings. Both patriotism and friendship for the Allies had prompted him to express his views in such a manner. His instructions showed that all personal considerations about his successors in Lisbon were subordinated to his feelings of victory for his people in a just cause—the defeat of the Central Powers.

Shortly after the outbreak of war in 1914 Manuel established a hospital for wounded soldiers at Brighton entirely at his own expense. In 1915 he combined efforts with a remarkable man, Sir Robert Jones, the Inspector-General in the British armed forces assigned to supervise the care of wounded personnel. A close friendship developed between the two men which was to last until Manuel's death in 1932. In November 1915 Manuel went to France and Belgium at the request of the Joint War Committee to investigate and report on the work being done in hospitals for orthopedic cases. Manuel immediately sensed the need to help disabled men prepare for a future.<sup>73</sup> Largely through his efforts an Orthopedic Hospitals Department was created and a new hospital, with 1230 beds, opened at Shepherd's Bush outside London on March 1, 1916. For several years King Manuel worked at Shepherd's

---

<sup>72</sup> Times (London), March 18, 1916, p. 7.

<sup>73</sup> Aubrey Bell, "His Majesty, King Manuel II," an article found in the Introduction, Livros Antigos Portugueses, 1489-1600, Vol. III (London: Maggs Brothers, 1935), pp. xxxiv-xxxvi.

Bush from early morning until late at night, simply and solely for the cause of disabled servicemen. He spent a great portion of his time during the war years raising money from among his friends and through public appeal. Between 1916 and 1919 he visited various parts of the United Kingdom to address meetings and to appeal for funds to carry on the work.<sup>74</sup>

Shepherd's Bush was the first hospital of its kind designed to train the disabled veteran for a new life. It was a landmark in the care of those young men who had given a part of themselves in the defense of their country. At Shepherd's Bush Sir Robert Jones consolidated the framework upon which his national scheme for care of the crippled was built.<sup>75</sup> In 1917 however the future of Shepherd's Bush became somewhat uncertain. The British government had expended large sums of money on the war effort but had budgeted very little for the care of the wounded. Unless additional funds could be found, the prospects of continued operation of the facility were in serious question. Jones was convinced that it had to become a permanent institution to care and to cure the deformities of war. He was pleased to receive a letter from Manuel, in June 1917, which informed him that Sir Arthur Stanley, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Red Cross, agreed with them that Shepherd's Bush must be kept open after the war "as the Great School of Orthopaedics in this country."<sup>76</sup> Both

---

<sup>74</sup>Frederick Watson, The Life of Sir Robert Jones (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934), p. 180.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

Manuel and his friend Jones hoped that the hospital would remain in the hands of the Red Cross and become after 1918 a teaching center for the treatment and training of the disabled. This dream was not to be fulfilled. In the summer of 1919 the hospital was placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Pensions and the Red Cross bequeathed its equipment to the ministry. Manuel, disappointed that it had not remained an independent department within the government, resigned with some bitterness in his heart. Shepherd's Bush remained under the control of the Pensions Ministry until April 11, 1925, when after nine years of orthopedic treatment, it was closed down. It was a keen disappointment to the two men most closely associated with its establishment.<sup>77</sup>

Manuel's contribution to the British war effort had involved long and hard hours and endless trips throughout the nation. Yet he certainly did as much for the wounded soldier within Great Britain as was within the power of any layman. His devotion to Sir Robert Jones was as intense as his attention to the needs of the disabled veterans. In the spring of 1919 Jones' mother died. Manuel, on the occasion, sent his friend a note of consolation which is worth quoting:

My sympathy and devotion goes to you from the bottom of my heart in your new and so sad loss! I wish, my dear friend, I could be with you. A mother is a unique person for us, and though we grow in age and experience we are always their children! God bless you, dear friend, and give you strength and courage, resignation and health. But remember that you also are unique and precious not precious not only to your friends, but to the nation!

Your devoted and grateful friend,  
Manuel R<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., pp. 215-216.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., pp. 229-230. Robert Jones died on January 14, 1933 and was buried in Liverpool Cathedral.



Manuel expressed his own feelings on his work during the war years on one occasion when he was present for the opening of a series of curative workshops in Cardiff, Wales in connection with the Orthopedic section of the Welsh Metropolitan Hospital. Addressing those present, he said that the people had to think not only of giving men to the army to fight in the war, but also of welcoming back men who, although limbless, could still take an active part in the battle of life and become useful members of the community once again.<sup>79</sup> That had been his dream during all those years of service in the British Red Cross. He gave unsparingly of his time and energy for the cause of the wounded and nothing was dearer to him than the gratitude which they showed to him in return. Manuel also took an interest in his own countrymen. On several occasions he sent gifts to wounded Portuguese troops in France. He did so, however, under the expressed condition that his name not be made public in connection with such distributions in order that no political motives be attributed to his actions.<sup>80</sup>

Manuel's busy schedule during the war years allowed him very little time for the socializing which had filled his days before 1914. After the war he settled down again at his Twickenham estate and began the other great endeavor of his years in exile—the collection of a large and impressive library of ancient Portuguese literary works.

By the end of the war he had largely abandoned any thoughts of

---

<sup>79</sup> Times (London), October 22, 1917, p. 5.

<sup>80</sup> Letter from Sir Arthur Stanley, quoted in the Times (London), July 5, 1932, p. 16. For Manuel's complete role in the war see A. H. Bizarro, El-Rei D. Manuel II na Grande Guerra (Lisboa: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1952).

returning to the Portuguese throne.

Manuel was somewhat dismayed in 1919 by an uprising that occurred once again in his favor. Paiva Couceiro, who had never abandoned his allegiance to the Braganzas, by 1919 felt that the Portuguese people were growing disillusioned with the Republic and the time was ripe for another revolt.<sup>81</sup> On January 19, 1919 Couceiro and his followers invaded northern Portugal, won over various garrisons there, and proclaimed the reestablishment of the monarchy in Oporto. The royalist leader was able to acclaim Manuel, his former sovereign, King of Portugal once again. Other cities, such as Viana do Castelo, Braga, Braganza, Guimarães, Vila Real, and Viseu, followed Oporto's example and declared for the monarchy. Nearly one-half of the country supported the uprising, with the Vouga River marking the boundaries between the Portuguese Republic in the south and the newly restored Portuguese monarchy in the north. Two factors were said to have contributed to bring about the initial success of the royalist revolution: Firstly, the antagonism of the people against the various republican administrations as a result of ineffectiveness and the establishment of a virtual dictatorship, and secondly, the feeling that the government, although tied to Great Britain by treaty obligations, had contributed very little to the Allied cause during the war.<sup>82</sup>

Manuel's reaction to all this was interesting. He dispatched a telegram to the Republican government in Lisbon, denouncing the efforts being carried out on his behalf. Yet on January 21st the Viscount of

---

<sup>81</sup>Nowell, Portugal, p. 139.

<sup>82</sup>New York Times, January 21, 1919, p. 9.

Asseca, speaking in the deposed king's name, issued the following statement:

At the beginning of the war King Manuel made it definitely understood that there was to be no movement in his favor in Portugal and that his country was to devote the whole of its energies to prosecution of the war. The assassination of the President /Sidonio Pais/ in December /1918/ altered the situation and seemed to threaten the country with chaos.

In the circumstances a new situation was opened up, the possibility of which before was out of the question. The King's position was this, that he place himself entirely at the disposal of Portugal. If his country wished him to return he would at once do so without any reference to difficulties or dangers that the course would involve.

He has been treated with infinite kindness in this country /England/, where he has greatly enjoyed his stay, but he has lived with no other idea than to return to his throne.<sup>83</sup>

On January 22nd monarchical forces actually invaded the outskirts of Lisbon, occupied the area known as Monsanto and engaged Republican troops in battle. Part of the Lisbon garrison even pronounced itself in favor of the king's return. Yet the movement, for all its apparent strength, collapsed almost as quickly as it had begun. Most of the government's forces remained loyal to the Republic and succeeded in defeating the royalists efforts both in the suburbs of the capital and in the northern part of the country as well. Portuguese warships bombarded Oporto, forcing Couceiro and the other royalists to take flight. Many of Couceiro's followers were captured by the government's forces, although he managed to escape into exile himself.<sup>84</sup>

While the situation was still uncertain, many of Manuel's supporters urged him to return to Portugal and establish his claims in

---

<sup>83</sup> New York Times, January 22, 1919, p. 1

<sup>84</sup> Nowell, Portugal, pp. 139-140. Couceiro returned to Portugal after the establishment of the Salazar regime and died there in 1944.

person. One of them, the Count of Antibanez del Rio, sent him a telegram from Madrid, dated January 30, 1919. It said:

Luiz de Magalhaes, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Junta Government of the Realm, came from Oporto hoping to meet your Majesty in Spain. He tells me that the Junta sent two radiograms communicating events to your Majesty. Our troops are strongly established on the line of the Vouga and in all the north the monarchy is reestablished and your Majesty enthusiastically acclaimed. Your Majesty's presence is ardently desired and must have a decisive effect<sup>85</sup> because assuredly it will guarantee recognition of belligerence.

Manuel was obviously pleased with such reports of enthusiastic support for his cause but preferred to await further developments in the situation from the serenity of his home at Fulwell Park. As things turned out, it was a wise course of action on his part. The 1919 uprising marked the last in the series of efforts undertaken to restore the dethroned Braganza to the throne. His failure to appear in person to fight for his cause might have cost him support. Yet, even in 1919, Manuel still preferred not to impose himself by force upon the Portuguese people. In September 1920, in a long letter written to his political representative, Ayres de Ornelas, in Lisbon, the exiled monarch advised the union of all Portuguese citizens in view of the grave political conditions within the country. He urged the conservative forces to unite and form a barrier for the purpose of defending from anarchy those who wanted peace and order restored in Portugal. It was an appeal which he made from exile to his partisans and all Portuguese to save their country and its honor. He urged upon the government the necessity of amnesty for political prisoners as indispensable for the union of all Portuguese. Although he was not ready to abdicate

---

<sup>85</sup> Cabral, Cartas, pp. 52-53.

officially his monarchical principles, Manuel made it clear that he was willing to do all within his power for his country when it was in danger. He concluded the letter by saying that he would continue to work, from his exile in England, for the good of his beloved homeland.<sup>86</sup>

The year 1919 brought Manuel additional sadness. In April his maternal grandmother, the Countess of Paris, died at her Spanish estate outside Seville. Manuel had spent some of the happiest days of his youth riding horseback or hunting with his Orleans relatives there. The countess' passing broke yet another link with Manuel's past.<sup>87</sup>

Manuel's family circle grew even smaller the following year with the death of the Duke of Oporto, his uncle and heir, on February 21, 1920 at his villa outside Naples, Italy. The Duke had lived in Italy since his mother's death in 1911, largely through the generosity of his cousin, Victor Emmanuel III. In 1917 he had married a twice-divorced American, Nevada Agnew Chapman van Volkenburgh, in a civil ceremony performed at the Ritz Hotel in Madrid. His wife, known after the marriage as the Princess Nevada of Braganza, was in close attendance upon her husband during the last few years of his life. The marriage, however, had not met with any strong endorsement from Manuel or any of the members of the Italian royal family. Victor Emmanuel had even contemplated making the Duke move out of the royal residence in

---

<sup>86</sup>New York Times, September 17, 1920, p. 17. Ornelas was, at the time, a political prisoner of the Portuguese government.

<sup>87</sup>New York Times, April 25, 1919, p. 15.

Naples but did not do so because of his cousin's declining health.<sup>88</sup> The Duke who was only fifty-four at the time of his death, in a will which had been drawn up on November 26, 1917, left all of his worldly possessions to his wife, including property in England of small value. To Manuel he left nothing.<sup>89</sup>

In July 1920 Manuel and his wife attended the funeral of the Empress Eugenie of France, at her home in Farnborough, England, along with King George V and Queen Mary, King Alfonso XIII and Queen Victoria Eugenia of Spain, and various other representatives of the royal houses of Europe. Manuel had not known the exiled Empress very well, but his secretary, Lavradio, had visited her in 1911, along with the Spanish envoy, the Marquis of Vilalobar, and she had asked them about Manuel and the 1910 revolution. She had later paid a visit to Queen Amelia in Richmond and met the young man with whom she shared a common exile.<sup>90</sup>

The other major event of Manuel's summer of 1920 was the renunciation by his cousin, Dom Miguel "II" and his eldest son, the Duke of Viseu, of their formal rights to the Portuguese throne. On July 31st both men passed their rights to the thirteen year old Dom Duarte Nuno, Miguel II's son by his second marriage to Maria Theresa of Lowenstein.

---

<sup>88</sup> Almeida, Os Últimos Braganças, pp. 244-245. The Duchess had originally been married to a William H. Chapman of Connecticut from whom she inherited considerable wealth. Her second marriage, to Philip van Volkenburgh of New York, was annulled. She outlived the Duke, dying in 1944. See the New York Times, September 27, 1917, p. 13 for details of her former marriages and her wedding to the Duke of Oporto.

<sup>89</sup> Times (London), May 6, 1920, p. 19. Oporto's body was returned to Lisbon in 1923 for burial in St. Vincent's Church.

<sup>90</sup> Harold Kurtz, The Empress Eugenie (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1964), p. 369; Lavradio, Memoirs, p. 192.

Miguel himself was too old to advance his cause any further, while the Duke of Viseu had married an American, Anita Stewart, in September 1909 and was no longer interested in the family's dynastic efforts. The young Durate had been born on September 23, 1907 in Seebenstein, Austria and was being educated in Luxembourg under the guidance of his aunt who was the wife of the reigning Grand Duke.<sup>91</sup> Duarte was actually too young to provide Manuel with a direct challenge to his throne but the young prince did hold out hope for his supporters that one day the Migueline branch of the family might, by default, inherit the exiled king's rights to the throne. Manuel had reluctantly reached the same conclusion by 1922, and on April 17th of that year he endorsed what was generally referred to as the Pact of Paris, whereby he recognized his young cousin Duarte as his sole heir in the event his own marriage proved childless. It was an astute move on Manuel's part, uniting for the first time since 1834 the two monarchical factions of the House of Braganza. Manuel regarded the Pact as resolving once and for all the dynastic question in relation to the Portuguese throne.<sup>92</sup>

Most of Manuel's time after 1919 was spent in the collection of a marvelous library of antique Portuguese books and manuscripts covering the period 1489-1600. It was to turn out to be a priceless collection which would fill the remaining years of Manuel's life with much hard work and immense personal satisfaction. All of Portugal's

---

<sup>91</sup>Bettencourt e Galvão, O Duque de Bragança (Lisboa: Edições Gama, 1945), pp. 80-82. Also see Caetano Beirão, El-Rei D. Miguel I e a sua descendência, pp. 233-234.

<sup>92</sup>Cabral, Cartas, p. 61. The 1912 Pact of Dover had never been effectively supported by either party.

Coburg monarchs—Fernando II, Pedro V, Luis I, and Carlos I—had been culturally inclined and Manuel was no exception. King Luis, his grandfather had patronized the literary personalities and academies of his day, and had developed a passion for Shakespeare, some of whose most famous plays he translated into the Portuguese language. Carlos, apart from showing some talent as a watercolor artist, devoted himself to the study of natural history, becoming an amateur ornithologist and ichthyologist.<sup>93</sup>

The exiled king had other interests to which he gave his time after the First World War, but to his collection he gave his life. His knowledge of Portuguese literature led him to prize and to cultivate its spiritual treasures, largely as a source of strength and inspiration. He was especially attracted to literary works connected with the history of the reign of his famous namesake, Dom Manuel I (1495-1521). The first Manuel was the king who had been the dominant influence behind most of the maritime and colonial enterprises carried out by the distinguished explorers of his age. The literary works of that by-gone era inspired the second Manuel with a profound love for his native land.<sup>94</sup>

Once Manuel had collected a sizeable number of the books covering the period 1489-1600, he began the systematic cataloguing of his collection. Recording the bibliographical characteristics of each masterpiece and steeping himself in their contents, which he compared and

---

<sup>93</sup>Ricardo Jorge, "Early Portuguese Books," an article found in the Introduction to Livros Antigos Portuguese, 1489-1600, Vol. III, pp. xxiii-xxix.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.



discussed with great detail and knowledge, became for him a full-time occupation. He spent endless hours researching and writing descriptions of the Portuguese incunabula and rare sixteenth century editions which came into his possession. Manuel showed a special interest in and knowledge of the early Portuguese historians, humanists, and printers. He sought to include within his bibliography works describing the glorious deeds of the men who had made Portugal a great maritime power in the sixteenth century. It was not an easy task, but Manuel brought to it much enthusiasm and scholarly patience.<sup>95</sup> Manuel summed up his own feelings best in the Introduction which he wrote for the first volume of his catalogue, published in 1929:

Our aim is simple: in trying to give life to these early Portuguese books, and to a few manuscripts that accompany them, we seek to bring into relief the achievements of the Portuguese, especially in the fifteen and sixteenth centuries.<sup>96</sup>

The publication of the first volume, of what was eventually to be a three volume catalogue, amazed the scholarly world. Those who reviewed it were generally surprised to find that Manuel's views of history were combined with a minute and careful scholarship. In publishing the work, he had provided a complete technical bibliographical description of each volume under review. With an understanding for what he was writing, "he embroidered scholarly detail upon a substantial historical background."<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>95</sup> Aubrey Bell, "His Majesty, King Manuel II," p. xxxv.

<sup>96</sup> Livros Antigos Portuguese, 1489-1600, Vol. I (London: Maggs Brothers, 1929).

<sup>97</sup> Aubrey Bell, "His Majesty, King Manuel II," p. xxxvi.

Manuel's description of his books was very thorough. Few collectors have known their books more intimately than did the deposed monarch-turned-scholar. Manuel not only wrote the descriptions for his bibliography, but took an active interest in every aspect of the printing process itself. He personally page proof from his publisher, and made additional changes and corrections. Although he sometimes complained of the fatigue which this part of the work produced, he never allowed anyone else to do it. The publication and acceptance of his first volume encouraged and delighted him, so that he began almost immediately to undertake the second volume.<sup>98</sup>

Manuel made a calendar and, by organizing his work, kept strictly to the dates upon which he had agreed to deliver his work to the printer. Nothing was dictated, for Manuel preferred writing everything down in longhand. It was his habit to work through the night until the early hours of the morning in his study at Fulwell Park. He worked with the sole but constant companionship of a cigarette, while the carpet during such sessions was literally covered with piles of reference books.<sup>99</sup>

Manuel's objective in his work was to provide a lasting literary contribution for his fellow countrymen. He never allowed his scholarly endeavors, however, to interfere with his work as a self-appointed Portuguese ambassador of "good-will." Throughout the years he spent in exile he diligently worked to further Portugal's interests, whether at

---

<sup>98</sup> Stanley Morison, "The King and his Books," an article found in the Introduction to Livros Antigos Portuguese, Vol. III, pp. xl-xli.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

Court of Saint James's in England or in his travels abroad.<sup>100</sup>

Manuel dedicated himself, with a deep love and interest, to writing the historical and literary essays for the first two volumes of his catalogue, and in so doing, sacrificed all his leisure time. The second volume, which contained descriptions of works in his collection up to the year 1575, was published in 1930 and without pausing, Manuel began work on the third volume, designed to describe books printed in Portugal between 1575 and 1600. It was to be his final labor of love which would not appear until after his death in 1932.<sup>101</sup>

Manuel was assisted in his work by several people who shared much of his interest. They included Dr. Edgar Prestage, a British historian; Dr. Maurice L. Ettinghausen, a reknown collector of antique books; and Miss Margery Withers, the king's personal librarian. Dr. Prestage, the author of The Portuguese Pioneers and other works devoted to the history of Portugal, came to know Manuel well while helping him revise the proofs of his three large volumes of bibliography. Prestage was an alumnus of Oxford University, who had first visited Portugal in 1891. He later earned a doctorate in letters from his alma mater by producing a scholarly work on Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608-1666), a seventeenth century Portuguese writer. In 1907 Prestage married a Portuguese woman and went to live and to write in Lisbon. He had witnessed the final events of the old kingdom, including the tragic death of Carlos and his son, and Manuel's brief reign. He was firmly convinced that the boy king had been all but abandoned by the monarchists,

---

<sup>100</sup>

Aubrey Bell, "His Majesty, King Manuel II," p. xxxvi.

<sup>101</sup>

From the Forward written by Queen Augusta Victoria for Vol. III of Livros Antigos Portuguese, 1489-1600, published in 1935.

who were so divided among themselves that they left the Republicans with all the propaganda they needed to topple the throne. Prestage's wife died in 1918 and he returned to England the following year.<sup>102</sup> The deposed king held Dr. Prestage in high esteem, as a true scholar and outstanding English-language historian of the Portuguese nation.

Manuel had met another able helper, Maurice L. Ettinghausen, in Munich in the autumn of 1913 while the king was in that city on his honeymoon. Ettinghausen, reading in the local newspapers of the monarch's presence there, thought that Manuel might get "rather bored during a prolonged stay in Munich," so he wrote him a letter quoting the prices of a few books on Portugal that were available in his stock of old publications. Evidently he judged the situation correctly, for Manuel went at once after receiving the letter, and Ettinghausen found him on the first occasion "to be a most charming and amiable young man, who enjoyed speaking French, the language of his mother."<sup>103</sup>

The meeting in Munich initiated a long acquaintance between the two men. Soon after the Armistice in November 1918, Ettinghausen went to England where he plunged at once into the London book world. In January 1919 he wrote Manuel at Fulwell Park and the collector-king

---

<sup>102</sup> See Edgar Prestage, "Reminiscences of Portugal," in Livermore, Portugal and Brazil, pp. 1-11. For Manuel's correspondence with Prestage between 1926-1932 see Luis Cardim, Cartas de D. Manuel II a Edgar Prestage (Lisboa: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1952).

<sup>103</sup> Maurice L. Ettinghausen, Rare Books and Royal Collectors: Memoirs of an Antiquarian Bookseller (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 88. Ettinghausen was born in Paris in 1883, arrive in England 5 years later. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford and later studied at the Sorbonne in Paris, from which he received his doctorate in 1906.

came into the city to see him. Manuel confided in him at that time a secret project, his desire to write an authoritative, detailed monograph on the life and reign of his namesake, the famous King Manuel I (1495-1521), "the Fortunate," in whose reign Portugal had been at the peak of her power and glory. In order to undertake such a work he would need to collect the appropriate materials. Manuel decided at that point to endeavor to obtain every book printed in Portugal for the period 1489-1600. As the deposed monarch was himself unable to visit his native land, he commissioned Ettinghausen to make frequent trips to both Portugal and Spain on his behalf.<sup>104</sup>

Between 1919 and 1932 Dr. Ettinghausen spent a great portion of his time searching for the Portuguese source material which Manuel desired. As a result of the break-up of several famous old libraries in Portugal during the period, including those of the Count of Ameal and Antonio de Carvalho Monteiro, he was able to secure books which had not been seen on the market for over fifty years. Such acquisitions brought the royal collector in Twickenham much pleasure. It was largely at Ettinghausen's suggestion that Manuel undertook to write and publish his catalogue of ancient Portuguese books. As Ettinghausen described it, once Manuel had made up his mind, "instead of making a dry bibliography or short title catalogue of his books, he used the opportunity to show the past glories of Portugal by describing each book not only bibliographically but also with an essay on the author and the the subject of the book" as well.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., pp. 88-89.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 89.

During Ettinghausen's trips abroad Manuel wrote to him frequently about his work on the catalogue and the rare books which he hoped that the good doctor would find for him. The correspondence continued when Manuel himself was away from England. The letters showed Manuel's deep interest in the slightest details concerning the books. An example from one of his letters, written to Ettinghausen from the Grand Hotel in Palermo, Sicily on February 13, 1929, will suffice:

The news you sent me about the Gil Vicente made my mouth water!!! You can imagine how anxious I am to see that magnificent copy of such a rare and important book! I cannot help saying how sorry I am that you shall not be able to stay long enough in England to see the whole of the proofs through the Press; but I think and hope no more difficulties will arise.<sup>106</sup>

While Manuel was working on his extensive bibliography, he wrote each essay in Portuguese in long hand and then sent it to Ettinghausen for typing and possible suggestions, both bibliographical and literary. Ettinghausen would examine each one critically but seldom find anything wrong with them. On occasion, when a book in Manuel's collection dealt with a subject like astronomy, the king's essay would be submitted to an eminent English astronomer for his critical evaluation. Once two rare Hebrew incunables printed in Lisbon in 1489 were reviewed by Manuel, who then submitted his essay to a leading Jewish authority in England, Nathan Adler. In both cases neither expert could find anything wrong with Manuel's work.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> Correspondência de El-Rei D. Manuel II com o Dr. Maurice L. Ettinghausen Sobre Os "Livros Antigos Portugueses" (Lisboa: Fundação da Casa da Bragança, 1957), pp. 58-59.

<sup>107</sup> Ettinghausen, Rare Books and Royal Collectors, pp. 90-91.

After each essay had been typed it was returned to the king, who revised it a second and even sometimes a third time before he was satisfied. The typed copy was then sent to the printers at Cambridge University Press. After the galley proofs were dispatched to Fulwell Park, Manuel read them carefully to catch any mistakes. It can easily be said that the royal bibliophile was the sole author and editor of his massive three volume catalogue of ancient Portuguese books.<sup>108</sup>

Manuel sought through diplomatic channels, especially through the British and Spanish envoys in Lisbon, to gain possession of the rich library collected by his grandfather, Luis I, at the Ajuda Palace in the capital. After serious negotiations with the Portuguese government he was pleased when Dr. Oliveira Salazar agreed to return several early and exceedingly rare volumes which Luis had purchased from his own private resources.<sup>109</sup>

In 1926 Ettinghausen succeeded in purchasing part of the library of Antonio de Carvalho Monteiro, which included some of the works of Luis Camoões, Portugal's national poet. The sale contained copies of the first edition of the comedies of Camoões and Antonio Prestes (published in 1587), of which only three or four were known to exist. The books were sent by sea to England in four large trunks. Unfortunately they arrived in Southampton in the middle of the famous 1926 General Strike when cargo was dealt with by untrained university students and others. When the cases reached Twickenham, there were only three instead of the four originally shipped. Lloyd's of London, the

---

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

international insurance company, placed an advertisement in the Times concerning the missing box. A few days later an anonymous letter from Southampton arrived at Lloyd's office, asking for £100 in exchange for the box. Upon the receipt of the money, the contents of the missing box were handed over to a Lloyd detective. Not one volume of the literary treasures was missing much to the relief of the royal collector at Twickenham.<sup>110</sup>

Manuel's valuable collection of early Portuguese works was housed, during his lifetime, in his library at Fulwell Park. They were all arranged on the shelves in chronological order of publication. On occasion he would loan some of them out for a special exhibition such as the 1924 show in Paris dedicated to the works of Camões. Manuel actually went to Paris himself to help open the exhibit.<sup>111</sup> Ten years later, after Manuel's death, Ettinghausen arranged an exhibition of some of the late king's rarest books and examples of his cataloguing in both London and Paris. Although the turnout was small in England, the Paris exhibition attracted hundreds. It was inaugurated by President Albert Lebrun of France, who was joined by the Portuguese ambassador in Paris, Armando da Gama Ochoa. Among those present were the Infanta Eulalia of Spain (who had been in Lisbon shortly before the 1910 revolution), Princess Lucien Murat (Manuel's cousin), and the famous author, Paul Valery. Miss Margery Withers, who had served as Manuel's librarian for many years, acted as guide and conducted the President's party around the exhibit pointing out the more interesting books and manuscripts

---

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 95-96.

<sup>111</sup> Times (London), February 15, 1928, p. 15.



in the collection. Miss Withers had largely collated the material and added some brief bibliographical notes to the third and final volume of the king's catalogue following his death. She had also chosen the illustrations for the work. She was by that time so familiar with Manuel's style that the illustrations, in all probability, reflected what he himself would have selected.<sup>112</sup>

Manuel spent many hours each day at his "labor of love." In writing to Ettinghausen on one occasion, he complained:

What a work! I confess that I am very tired, having worked during the last 8 days an average of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  hours a day. Miss Withers remained one night until 11 o'clock!<sup>113</sup>

Later, again in a letter to Ettinghausen, the royal bibliophile wrote:

I have received your letter and proofs from Cambridge. This will have to wait till I have finished with this Consolacam which has made my life a perfect h..l!<sup>114</sup>

The exiled monarch's only break from his work came when he took brief trips abroad to visit with his mother or his wife's family, or to soak in the mineral baths at Vichy. Whenever the pressure became too great for him at Fulwell Park he would undertake such a journey.

In the meantime, death was slowly removing Manuel's old circle of friends. In October 1922 the Marquis of Soveral died. Manuel lost another friend with the passing of England's Queen Mother Alexandra in November 1925. Her death recalled for him his earlier and happier

---

<sup>112</sup>Ettinghausen, Rare Books and Royal Collectors, p. 93. For comments on Miss Withers see Queen Augusta Victoria's Introduction to Vol. III of Livros Antigos Portuguese, 1489-1600.

<sup>113</sup>From Manuel's correspondence with Ettinghausen, dated December 26, 1927, p. 40.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., dated February 19, 1931, p. 79. Manuel deleted his own expletive.

moments as the guest of the queen and her husband, Edward VII, at Windsor in 1909. In a letter to his friend the Count of Mafra, the exiled king spoke of Alexandra as an "incomparable friend," whose death he mourned greatly.<sup>115</sup>

The next loss was that of his jovial father-in-law, Prince William of Sigmaringen-Hohenzollern, who died on October 24, 1927 at the age of sixty-three from a heart disease. William had renounced his claim to his uncle's Rumanian throne in 1888, preferring the quiet life of his small principality to the insecurity of a Balkan throne. When Rumania entered the First World War against the Central Powers, William returned all of his Rumanian decorations. He and his brother, King Ferdinand, never became reconciled. William had served as a general in the Prussian infantry during the war but saw little actual battle. His first wife, Marie Theresa of the Two Sicilies, died in 1909 and six years later he wed Princess Adelgonde of Bavaria who survived him. Both of his sons had seen action in the German armed forces during the war. He was succeeded in his titles by the eldest son Prince Friedrich Victor. Both Manuel and his wife mourned the passing of Prince William.<sup>116</sup> The following spring Manuel summed up his feelings, in a letter to his old friend the Count of Mafra, when he said: "My life has been and is, a constant struggle!!"<sup>117</sup>

Manuel's interest in books kept him going. On May 15, 1928 he presided at the opening of the headquarters of the First Edition Club,

---

<sup>115</sup> Cabral, Cartas, p. 237.

<sup>116</sup> New York Times, October 25, 1927, p. 29.

<sup>117</sup> Cabral, Cartas, p. 247.

of which he was a member, in Bedford Square, and inspected the collection of books on view there from practically every private press in the country. Asked to say a few words on the occasion, the deposed monarch replied: "Yes, but I must not make a speech. If one is in a place of books speeches ought not to be allowed. Books are the best friends, but they are silent, which is one of their great advantages." Before leaving Manuel promised to lend the earliest of his valuable collection of old Portuguese books for exhibition later that year.<sup>118</sup> Manuel also took time out of his exhaustive work schedule to indulge his other passion, music. On April 6, 1928 he and his wife attended a sacred concert at the Crystal Palace in London which featured the works of the reknowned Italian composer, Rossini.<sup>119</sup> Once while on the European continent, Manuel paid a visit to Princess Marie of Thurn and Taxis at her castle of Duino near Miramar on the Adriatic. She knew he was very musical and so she arranged for the Trieste Quartet to come over and together they enjoyed an afternoon devoted to the works of Beethoven and Mozart. In the castle's great hall, hung with its larger-than-life portraits of the princess' ancestors who had ruled Milan in the twelfth century, the exiled king sat silently listening to the music.<sup>120</sup>

When Manuel's travels took him to the European continent, he was generally accorded the honors reserved for a reigning sovereign.

---

<sup>118</sup> Times (London), May 16, 1928, p. 21

<sup>119</sup> Times (London), April 9, 1928, p. 7.

<sup>120</sup> Nora Wydenbruck, Memoirs of a Princess (London: The Hogarth Press, 1959), p. 180. The princess was a niece of the Imperial Chancellor of Germany, Prince Choldwig von Hohenlohe.

On January 11, 1930, while in Italy, he paid a visit to Pope Pius XI. Upon his arrival at the Vatican he was received by various high-ranking ecclesiastics and members of the Papal Court. Manuel presented the pontiff with the first volume of his catalogue and was pleased to receive the Pope's appreciation for his diligent work.<sup>121</sup>

Manuel quite frequently visited his mother, Queen Amelia, at her residence just outside Versailles, the Chateau de Bellevue. He often stopped off there on his way either to or from Vichy or Sigmaringen. In September 1925 Manuel spent the 28th of that month with his mother, helping her celebrate her sixtieth birthday.<sup>122</sup>

The strain of Manuel's work after 1925 forced him to take in the mineral baths at Vichy, France on a yearly basis. They proved extremely therapeutic, as well as restful. While at Vichy he usually stayed at the Hotel Radio, where he spent his leisure hours writing to his old friends. His work on the catalogues had been so demanding that he had found little time for corresponding with anyone except Ettinghausen, Prestage, and his publishers since 1919.<sup>123</sup>

On February 10, 1929 the deposed monarch attended the wedding of his friend, Prince Christopher of Greece to the Princess Françoise of France at Palermo on the island of Sicily. It was an especially happy occasion for Manuel, who served as the bridegroom's witness, along with the Duke of Aosta, King George II of Greece, and Crown

---

<sup>121</sup>New York Times, January 12, 1930, p. 4.

<sup>122</sup>Cabral, Cartas, p. 219.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., pp. 47-48. Manuel paid his first visit to Vichy in August 1925.

Prince Umberto of Italy. The wedding was held in the Palatina Chapel of the same palace in Palermo where Manuel's uncle, the Duke of Orleans, had died three years earlier. Queen Amelia was among the guests, which spared Manuel a side-trip to her chateau in France on this occasion.<sup>124</sup>

While vacationing in Cannes following Christopher's wedding in 1929, Manuel learned of the death, in Portugal, of João Franco, his father's last prime minister. The deposed monarch and the one-time dictator had reestablished their friendship after the 1910 revolution had toppled the monarchy. In January 1911 Franco had arrived in Biarritz, France with his wife and installed himself in the Hotel Vitoria there. On the 11th of that month, two days after his arrival, he wrote a letter to his good friend, Antonio Pinto de Mesquita, an attorney in Portugal, telling him of his yearning and sadness for Portugal. Mequita obviously passed the message on to the resident at Fulwell Park for on January 16, 1911 Franco received a letter from Manuel which marked the beginning of a correspondence between the two men which was to last until Franco's death in 1929. In his first letter the exiled king asked the question which was on both men's minds: "What will be the future of Portugal? Only God knows, but, unhappily, I see only darkness."<sup>125</sup>

When Maria Pia died on July 5, 1911, the king received a letter

---

<sup>124</sup> Prince Christopher, Memoirs, p. 247. For a full description of the wedding see the New York Times, February 11, 1929, p. 5. Prince Christopher died in 1940 at the age of fifty-one.

<sup>125</sup> Rodrigues Cavalheiro, ed., D. Manuel II e João Franco. Correspondência inédita (Lisboa: Biblioteca do Pensamento Politico, 1970), pp. 19-21.

from Franco, dated July 10th, in which he expressed his grief at the dowager queen's passing. In a book which the former minister published in 1924 he laid to rest the rumors that Maria Pia had displayed any hostile attitude toward him at the time of the regicide in 1908. Manuel was convinced that what Franco recorded was the truth.<sup>126</sup>

Manuel, in correspondence with the former prime minister, frequently sought Franco's thoughts about his sovereign's exile. In a letter dated July 18, 1912, Manuel, in a poetic way, complained of his difficulty in living away from his beloved homeland. The deposed king concluded "that my life in Portugal was a sea of roses compared with that which have had in exile!" It was an interesting observation, for it showed insight into the frustrations which plagued the dethroned monarch during the early years of his exile before he resigned himself completely to his fate. In the same letter he mentioned that he was aware of the monarchical excursions taking place at the time in his name but was convinced that they would produce only negative results.<sup>127</sup>

As a result of the close relationship which had developed between the two men over the years, largely through their correspondence, Franco's death on April 4, 1929 produced a profound sadness in the thirty-nine year old exiled monarch. Writing to the Viscount of Torrão in Portugal a few days after the death, Manuel described his feeling of loss, and added that Portugal was an extraordinary country which could produce such "an illustrative Portuguese." The king was impressed with the fact that the death of the former dictator could produce such

---

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., pp. 51-52.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., pp. 87-89.

a strong manifestation of sympathy as that which occurred in Portugal at the time of Franco's death after eighteen years of Republican rule. The letter was dispatched from Cannes. A few days later Manuel returned to Fulwell Park.<sup>128</sup>

Sporadic uprisings in the name of the monarchy continued to occur in Portugal. In May 1926 a revolt broke out in Braga, but was quickly quelled. Manuel, according to his old friend, Lavradio, remained indifferent to such events. As late as April 1929 the Republican government in Portugal was still putting down royalist uprisings. On the 17th of that month an alleged revolutionary plot was discovered in Lisbon but was forestalled with the arrest of the former prime minister, Antonio Silva, recognized leader of the right-wing faction of the Democratic Party.<sup>129</sup> The proclamation of the Republic in 1910 had been followed for a period of time by annual royalist uprisings in the north which had been successfully thwarted by the republic. By the late 1920's a small monarchist minority succeeded in obtaining seats in the Portuguese Parliament, where under the leadership of Manuel's lieutenant, Ayres de Ornelas, they generally supported all measures of good government in keeping with instructions from Fulwell Park. By 1928 two royalist newspapers were being published within Portugal, A Boz and Correio de Manhã. The former one had the largest circulation of any publication in the country. Yet the cause of the restoration of the monarchy was still hampered by the fact that Manuel had produced no heir to succeed him and many of his supporters were unwilling to

---

<sup>128</sup> Cabral, Cartas, p. 286.

<sup>129</sup> Times (London), April 18, 1929, p. 16.

accept Dom Duarte Nuno whom the deposed monarch had acknowledge as his heir by the Pact of Paris (1922).<sup>130</sup>

In the spring of 1930 Manuel once again undertook the task of closing the breach existing between the two monarchical factions. He did so by letting it be known that he was content to remain in exile among his valuable collection of books at Fulwell Park and to recognize Prince Duarte as his sole heir. The monarchists had little choice but to accept the situation, bury their hatchets, and look to the young prince to build a monarchical dam against what they regarded as the rising tide of republican socialism within the country. The deposed monarch, by his lukewarm enthusiasm for the "cause" and his disinclination to take a leading part in the restoration movement, largely forced such a reconciliation. In contrast to the literaryminded ex-sovereign his heir designate, the Austrian-born Duarte, was consumed with the ambition to polish the tarnished image of his ancestors who had ruled Portugal for 270 years. His supporters, who were recruited from the student class and the intelligentsia, were devoted to the royalist cause. They had their own party newspaper, The Portuguese Nation, and were intent on promoting the restoration of the House of Braganza. All monarchists who had the same end in mind were forced after 1929 to acknowledge the pretender's leadership. By that date the royal scholar at Fulwell Park was no longer interested in leading an active restoration movement.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup>Times (London), February 17, 1928, p. 10. Ornelas died on December 14, 1930 and was replaced by João de Azevedo Coutinho.

<sup>131</sup>New York Times, May 18, 1930, Part II, p. 1.



In January 1930 Manuel returned to Italy to witness the marriage of the Crown Prince Umberto to the Princess Maria Jose of Belgium. The wedding ceremony took place on January 8th in the Palace's Pauline Chapel. Manuel was present along with three kings, two queens, another exiled monarch (the deposed king of Afghanistan), and a host of other European royalty. England was represented by the Duke of York (the future George VI), and France by her distinguished World War I general, Marshal Henri Petain. They all crowded together into the small chapel to view the religious service. Manuel sat next to Umberto's brother-in-law, King Boris III of Bulgaria. Manuel and the bridegroom had been good friends since their youth.<sup>132</sup>

Manuel, whose life had been generally devoted to helping his fellow man whenever possible, played the role of the "Good Samaritan" once again on December 10, 1930 in a scene somewhat reminiscent of an earlier event in his life. On that day, while out driving, his motorcar collided with a motorcyclist, Frank Tidy, in Richmond. The former king took Tidy to a near-by hospital in his own automobile and waited there while the injured man was being treated for a compound fracture in one leg. Later the exiled monarch telephoned Tidy's residence to inquire about his injury and to express his concern for the unfortunate event. Manuel never lost his interest in comforting those who were victims of misfortune.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup>Umberto II informed me of Manuel's presence at his wedding in an interview granted on June 23, 1972. For an account of the event see the New York Times, January 9, 1930, p. 1.

<sup>133</sup>New York Times, December 11, 1930, p. 8.

Another person whom Manuel regarded as a victim of misfortune was Alfonso XIII of Spain who arrived in London in April 1931 after being deprived of his throne. Elections in Spain in the spring of 1931 had convinced Alfonso that the monarchy had little support there and, following Manuel's example, he departed the country rather than plunge it into a bloody civil war. He arrived in England from France on the evening of April 21st and was greeted by tumultuous crowds shouting "Viva el rey!" It was a purely spontaneous welcome for a man who had always been popular with the Londoners. When Alfonso arrived at Claridge's Hotel, he found his old friend, Manuel, waiting there for him. The Portuguese monarch, by now a seasoned member of the exiled kings club, chatted with his Spanish counterpart for a few minutes before Alfonso retired to his suite. Alfonso had come to England primarily to see about enrolling his third son, Don Juan, in the British naval academy. He had no intention of taking up his residence there. While he was in London, the other members of the Spanish royal family were already beginning to settle down at Fontainebleau in France where twenty rooms had been reserved for them at a local hotel. Alfonso was willing to join them there after his return from England.<sup>134</sup>

On the day before Alfonso's arrival in London the final royalist uprising in Manuel's lifetime occurred in the Portuguese Azores. Manuel had no sympathy for the revolt and in a message to his supporters in Portugal he said:

---

<sup>134</sup>New York Times, April 22, 1931, p. 3. Alfonso eventually settled in Rome where he died in 1941. His grandson, Juan Carlos, Don Juan's son, is the King-designate of Spain.

At this time, when inexorable fate had forced King Alfonso from his throne, my thoughts turn to our dear country—may Heaven protect her—and to those faithful friends who never have forgotten me.<sup>135</sup>

He went on to urge all monarchists in Portugal to defend the country's independence and integrity and to maintain public order as the only means of "achieving the union of all patriots of good faith."<sup>136</sup> The Republican government was able to crush the rebellion without any difficulty. The Portuguese monarchists still loyal to the former king offered their unlimited support to the government following the advice of their deposed sovereign.

In July 1931 Manuel attended the Exposition of Portuguese Art being held at the Museum of Jogo da Pela in Paris. It was dedicated to the promotion of some of his native countrymen's most creative minds and included the paintings of Nuno Gonçalves and the literary masterpieces of Gil Vicente. On July 22nd he was received by Dr. José de Figueiredo, the Director of Lisbon's Museum of National Art, who gave him and Augusta Victoria a personal tour of the exhibit. The following day Manuel returned to the Exposition with his mother.<sup>137</sup>

On July 24, 1931 Manuel left Paris for his annual visit to Vichy. After a brief stop in Cannes, he returned to Paris on August 31st where he had lunch with Dr. Figueiredo at the Hotel Ritz. Manuel desired to arrange a similar exhibition for London in the spring of 1933 and solicited the Portuguese government's cooperation through the good offices of the museum director. Manuel returned to the Paris exposition

---

<sup>135</sup>.

New York Times, April 21, 1931, p. 8.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Sanches, O Rei Saudade, pp. 41-42.

several more times before leaving the city for England in September 1931.<sup>138</sup>

On November 15, 1931 Manuel celebrated what was to be his last birthday. In a letter to his old secretary, Lavradio, he noted the fact that he was forty-two years old. The realization prompted the comment, "How time passes!!!"<sup>139</sup>

Manuel made his last visit to the European continent in the spring of 1932 when he journeyed to Naples. He returned to Fulwell Park in April. At the end of that month his residence was burglarized and thousands of dollars worth of valuable art treasures, including George Romney's painting, "A Child Fast Asleep," were taken during a night-time entry. Ironically, Manuel and his wife and a number of servants were asleep in the house at the time the thieves were ransacking the rooms on the ground floor, taking antiques, silver, jewels, and paintings. The discovery of the robbery did not occur until the following morning after the servants had arisen. Britain's famous Scotland Yard detectives were immediately summoned. To Manuel's great relief the thieves had not disturbed his priceless library of Portuguese literature.<sup>140</sup>

Manuel's heavy work schedule had taken an increasing toll on his strength in the years after 1919. As far back as December 1927 he had written to Sir Robert Jones, "I have worked like a slave at an

---

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>139</sup> Cabral, Cartas, p. 227.

<sup>140</sup> New York Times, May 1, 1932, p. 19.

average of nine and a half hours a day!"<sup>141</sup> The colossal task of cataloging his vast collection of books began to undermine his health. Yet he refused to slow his pace and insisted on doing most of the work himself.

Manuel spent the last few months of his life at Fulwell Park working on the third volume of his bibliography and making plans to leave around July 5th for Vichy and Sigmaringen. On the first of July he joined the exiled Spanish monarch, Alfonso XIII, as a spectator at several of the famous Wimbledon tennis matches, a game he enjoyed both watching and playing. He had not missed a day of the Wimbledon tournament since it began in late June until the day he died.<sup>142</sup>

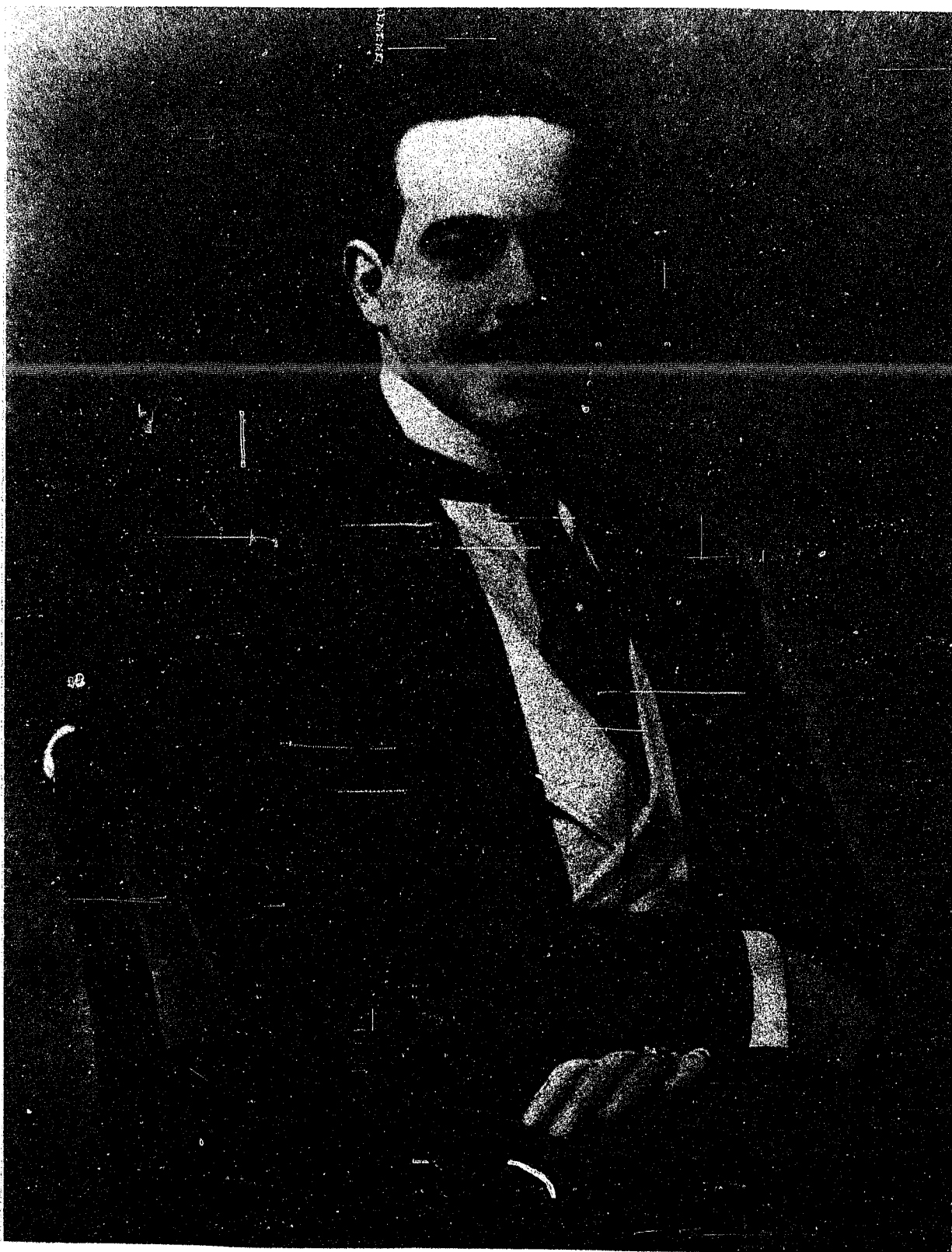
The exiled Portuguese monarch died suddenly in his bedroom at Fulwell Park on Saturday, July 2, 1932. He had complained of a sore throat that morning and paid a visit to Dr. Milsom Rees, a laryngologist in London shortly before noon. Upon the specialist's advice he returned home and retired to bed about one o'clock. He had a light lunch and was preparing to drink a second cup of coffee when he was seized with an attack of breathlessness about 1:40. Although medical aid was summoned, the former king expired before it arrived. Death was attributed to suffocation following an attack of "acute oedema of the glottis," a swelling of the narrow opening at the upper end of the larynx.<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>141</sup> Watson, Life of Sir Robert Jones, p. 293.

<sup>142</sup> Sanches, O Rei Saudade, p. 52.

<sup>143</sup> See Manuel II's death certificate at the General Register Office, Somerset House, London, England.



The last formal portrait of Dom Manuel II, 1932

Manuel's death, at the age of forty-two, caused consternation among his supporters and friends both in England and abroad. A telegram was immediately dispatched to his mother at her chateau in France informing her of the death. The grief-stricken queen then called by long distance telephone to learn of the details of her son's death before departing for England.<sup>144</sup> When the news of Manuel's passing reached Portugal, the people sensed the loss of a true friend. Few monarchs in exile could have won the sympathy and admiration of their former subjects to the extent which Manuel had since his banishment. In 1910 he had been deprived of his throne not for what he was himself but for the monarchy which he represented. In 1932 it was recognized that he had always been and had proved himself to be a sincere friend of his native land. El Seculo, the Republican newspaper, deplored Manuel's death with the editorial comment that although he was "banished from his Country because he was a king, nevertheless it was always remembered with pride that he was a true Portuguese."<sup>145</sup>

Portugal lost a true friend with Manuel's passing; the world lost a musician, bibliophile, historian, and a patron of the arts and sports. At the time of his death, Manuel had only recently completed work on the second enormous volume of his catalogue and was working on the third and final bibliography which he hoped to complete by late summer. Although he had never officially abdicated his throne, after 1919 he took no active interest in regaining it. He was perfectly content to live quietly at Fulwell Park amidst his priceless collection

---

<sup>144</sup>Sanches, O Rei Saudade, p. 53.

<sup>145</sup>Times (London), July 4, 1932, p. 12.

of ancient Portuguese masterpieces.<sup>146</sup>

Augusta Victoria, Manuel's widow, had been at his bedside during the last agonizing minutes of his life. Although their marriage had been strained, especially because of the Great War, she had remained faithful to him until the end. On July 3rd she received a personal visit from the King and Queen of England at the estate. They had tea with Augusta Victoria and Queen Amelia who had arrived overnight from France. Manuel's remains lay-in-state in the residence's formal drawing room, watched over by Sisters of Mercy. A brief mass was performed at the bier each day until the funeral.<sup>147</sup>

A campaign by the late king's friends had begun immediately following his death to have the body returned to Lisbon for entombment in the royal Pantheon at Saint Vincent's Church among the other members of the House of Braganza. The Viscount of Asseca and other royalists petitioned the Republican government to provide the former monarch with burial in his native land, a request which was not outright rejected. Asseca, in a statement released on July 5th, said that Manuel may have had a premonition of his impending death. In a letter written to the Viscount shortly before the end, Manuel had said: "I'm terribly tired, but I have the consolation of knowing that I have done my duty."<sup>148</sup>

Through British intervention, the Portuguese government agreed to accord Manuel burial in Lisbon. In the meantime, on July 8, 1932 the mortal remains were quietly, almost without ceremony, removed from

---

<sup>146</sup>New York Times, July 3, 1932, p. 14.

<sup>147</sup>New York Times, July 4, 1932, p. 11.

<sup>148</sup>New York Times, July 6, 1932, p. 19.



Fulwell Park and conveyed to the Catholic Church at Weybridge. It had been the expressed wish of Augusta Victoria and Amelia that the event be of the simplest form. The two queens and a few intimate friends attended a brief mass residence's drawing room and witnessed the body's removal to the waiting hearse. Then, standing on the lawn, they watched as it slowly drove through the gates on its way to the church at Weybridge, where it was to remain in a vault until the final arrangements could be made for internment.<sup>149</sup>

On July 10th Manuel's body was removed from Weybridge and transported to the large Roman Catholic Cathedral of Westminster in London where it was placed before the High Altar. Three floral wreaths lay at the foot of the bier.. They were from the King and Queen of Norway, the British Legion, and from his old friend, Sir Robert Jones.<sup>160</sup> On the morning of the 14th of July a special memorial service was held at the Cathedral in the presence of August Victoria, Amelia, former kings Alfonso XIII of Spain and George II of Greece, the Duke of Gloucester (representing his father, George V), and numerous other dignitaries. Francis Cardinal Bourne, who had been one of Manuel's close friends during his years in exile, delivered the eulogy. In his prepared comments, the Cardinal called attention the late king's assiduous devotion to his religious duties, his frequentation of the sacraments, and his attachment to the simple practices of piety. In concluding, he said: "I know how the welfare of Portugal, and, above

---

<sup>149</sup> The Richmond and Twickenham Times, July 9, 1932. The Chapel at Weybridge had previously housed the remains of the French king, Louis Phillippe and his queen until 1876 when they were removed to France.

all, the well-being of the Catholic Church in Portugal, took precedence in his mind and heart over any personal dynastic consideration." In the Cardinal's opinion, as well as in that of many others, Manuel had indeed lived up to the illustrious title, "the most faithful king," traditionally borne by Portuguese monarchs.<sup>150</sup>

The Portuguese government had agreed to Manuel's final internment in Lisbon after "taking into consideration the patriotism of which Dom Manuel gave many proofs during his exile and the service he rendered to his country as the last King of Portugal." On July 27th the government decreed that he was to be accorded a State funeral on August 2, 1932, and that the day would be designated a national holiday. The honors due to a chief-of-state were to be observed, with an official funeral service at Saint Vincent's Church. This action taken by the Republican government, regarded as most unusual for a deposed monarch, made a most favorable impression upon the Portuguese people who had always had a fondness in their hearts for the "boy-king."<sup>151</sup>

Manuel's coffin was placed on board the British cruiser, Concord, at Portsmouth on July 28th for transportation to Lisbon. It was draped with the royal standard of the House of Braganza and accompanied by the Marquis of Lavradio, the Viscount of Asseca, D. Sebastino de Lencaster, F. F. Sampayo (who had served as Manuel's personal secretary in recent years), and Antonio Pereira, his valet. The Concord arrived in the Tagus on the morning of August 2nd to the thunder of guns booming out

---

<sup>150</sup>Obituary, Catholic World (August 1932), p. 622. For a complete list of those present see Times (London), July 15, 1932, p. 15.

<sup>151</sup>New York Times, July 28, 1932, p. 17.

a royal salute. Members of the Portuguese navy, which had been Manuel's first love as a youth, were on hand to remove the coffin from the British warship. Some 300,000 persons lined the streets of the city as the procession bearing the casket passed through the same square in which Manuel's father and brother had lost their lives in 1908 making him the king.<sup>152</sup>

The coffin was escorted by Portuguese troops through the streets to Saint Vincent's Church. There it was carried up the steps by loyal monarchists and placed on a catafalque. Following the funeral mass, conducted by the Patriarch of Lisbon, the body lay-in-state between the hours of 3-6 that afternoon. It was then removed to the church's sacristy where it remained until a final resting place could be prepared in the Pantheon itself.<sup>153</sup>

The old animosities which had divided Portugal since the revolution of 1910 were forgotten during the funeral services and the royal banner fluttered at half-staff beside the flag of the Republic which had ousted Manuel twenty-two years earlier. General Oscar Carmona, the President of Portugal, Dr. Antonio Salazar, the prime minister, and other high-ranking Republican officials were on hand for the occasion. It was a time for healing the nation's wounds.

Manuel was generally regarded as one of the wealthiest ex-monarchs of his day, with an estimated income of nearly one million dollars a year, as well as numerous other millions invested in real estate, valuable

---

<sup>152</sup>

New York Times, August 3, 1932, p. 13.

<sup>153</sup> Times (London), August 3, 1932, p. 10. The Pantheon contained the tombs of some fifty members of both branches of the Braganza family from João IV (d. 1656) to Affonso (d. 1920).

jewels, paintings, rare books, old coins, and tapestries. The question immediately arose as to what was going to become of such a vast estate. Manuel, at the time of his marriage in 1913, had renounced any community rights, stipulating a separation of his possessions from those of his wife. The revenue from the property of the House of Braganza in Portugal had been more than sufficient to enable Manuel to live comfortably during his long years in exile. Although Manuel regarded himself simply as the administrator of the Braganza estate, the fact remained that the properties in Portugal were officially registered in his name.<sup>154</sup> The publication of Manuel's will on August 19, 1932 resolved most of the questions. In that document, drawn up May 29, 1919, Manuel bequeathed all of his personal possessions to the Portuguese nation, with the revenues from the property to continue to go to his widow during her lifetime. His priceless collection of books was to be housed in a special library in the family palace at Vila Viçosa. The Foundation of the House of Braganza was to be created to administer the financial affairs of the late king's estate. It was not only to oversee the installation of the library at Vila Viçosa, but was to provide funds for the founding of an agricultural school in honor of Dom Carlos at Vendas Novas, and the establishment of a clinic and hospital in Vila Viçosa, as well as other institutions to promote public services throughout the country.<sup>155</sup> Even in death, the last Braganza still showed his concern for the well-being of the Portuguese people. Antonio Cabral,

---

<sup>154</sup>New York Times, July 17, 1932, Part II, p. 4.

<sup>155</sup>Mattoso, História de Portugal, II, 354. For the complete text of Manuel's last testament see Rocha Martins, D. Manuel II, pp. 667-671.

who edited Manuel's letters after the king's death, expressed it best when he said: "The king thought only and always of Portugal. His constant preoccupation was for the happiness of the country."<sup>156</sup>

## EPILOGUE

The establishment of a Republican form of government in Portugal in 1910 met little resistance outside Lisbon. It was accepted by the Portuguese people elsewhere throughout the nation, as well as in the Portuguese colonies, with little or no regret. The bureaucratic machinery of the defunct monarchy was turned over to the new government without hesitation and the leaders of the old political parties, with equal haste, swore allegiance to the new regime. A day after the insurrection, banks and business were open again and the streets of Lisbon were as orderly as usual.<sup>1</sup>

Events would soon prove that the new leaders hardly knew what to do with the nation they had so recently acquired. Optimism, nevertheless, sprang forth from the Republicans. "Of all modern revolutions," stated President Theophile Braga, "none were so humane as those of Brazil and Portugal." When asked to explain the remark in an interview shortly after securing power, the old philosopher replied, "Partly by the temper of the two nations that shook off the monarchist yoke; they are both Portuguese, but largely because they were permeated with republican and, in this country, with positivist ideas which first produced a revolution in the souls of the young generation and of the leaders of thought, then suddenly translated themselves into acts and

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Revolution in Portugal," Independent 69 (October 13, 1910), p. 796.

are now about to crystallize into institutions."<sup>2</sup>

Two of the more noticeable signs of the new government were the presence throughout the nation of the green and red flag of the Republic, and the complete removal from public view of any portraits of the exiled king. Under the surface, however, Portugal was not much better off than she had been before the revolution. Without a written constitution, the Provisional Government was at liberty to do as it pleased. It continuously sought to embarrass the monarchy it had replaced. The two men guilty of assassinating the late King Carlos and his heir were hailed as national heroes by the leaders of the Republic after 1910. Suppression of the press, intimidation and torture of political opponents, and the establishment of special tribunals to try cases of political conspiracy were all a part of the republican program.<sup>3</sup>

In the summer of 1911 the government arrested a Catholic priest named Father Theodore J. Henriques. The prelate was from Madeira and had been passing through Lisbon on a British ship on his way home from a visit to Spain. Charged with speaking out against the Republican regime, he was shut up in a small cell without a trial for the winter of 1911-12, often going without food. Under British pressure, the government finally released him in March 1912. Seven months after his release Father Henriques died from the deprivations he had undergone

---

<sup>2</sup>E. J. Dillon, "The Portuguese Revolution," Living Age 267 (December 3, 1910), p. 579.

<sup>3</sup>Bragança-Cunha, Revolutionary Portugal, p. 150.

in prison.<sup>4</sup> Such action on the part of the new government was not an isolated happening during the early years of the Republic.

A Constituent Assembly finally met in June 1911 to draft a constitution for the infant Republic. Under the chairmanship of Anselmo Braamcamp, the 176 delegates declared the monarchy officially abolished, the House of Braganza permanently banished, and Portugal a democratic Republic. It likewise confirmed the Provisional Government in power until elections could be held, and granted legal validity to the various decrees issued by it. On August 18, 1911 the document was adopted, and three days later, Dr. Manuel José d'Arriaga, the seventy year old former Rector of Coimbra University, was elected President of the Republic.<sup>5</sup> Arriaga's election coincided with the first in the series of attempts by the royalists under Paiva Couceiro to reestablish the monarchy in Portugal.

The Portuguese public continued to read its newspapers, to follow the political debated, to watch the attempted uprisings against the government, and to shrug its shoulders as it had done in the days of the monarchy. The people soon discovered, as one eminent Portuguese historian put it, "that the power that kept them beasts of burden was not the tyranny of the King."<sup>6</sup> It is true that the Republican government inherited heavy responsibilities from its predecessor, but in its early

---

<sup>4</sup>Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, "Republican Tyranny in Portugal," Nineteenth Century 73 (May 1913), p. 1055.

<sup>5</sup>Hardinge, A Diplomatist In Europe, p. 229. Arriaga was elected President by 121 votes in the Constituent Assembly. See Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States for 1911 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 689.

<sup>6</sup>Bragança-Cunha, Revolutionary Portugal, p. 166.



stages it proposed no practical means of dealing with the problems, nor did it seek to institute the needed reforms. In fact, in the early years of its existence the Republic only tightened governmental control over the lives of the people without providing any remedies to age-old problems. In a series of decrees it outlawed religious orders (October 8, 1910), abolished titles of nobility (October 15, 1910), prohibited the teaching of Christian doctrines in the schools (October 22, 1910), and abolished religious holidays (October 26, 1910).<sup>7</sup> It did not attack the nation's financial problems or its inadequate educational system. All these measures merely frustrated the Portuguese people. They led to general mistrust by the people in their new government and its institutions. It helped to explain why, between 1910 and 1926, Portugal had no fewer than nineteen uprisings, forty different governments, and some 500 ministers occupying various positions. The monarchy may have been costly, but critics of that form of government rarely computed the immense outlay to the nation of repeated insurrections against the republican regime.<sup>8</sup>

In 1921 the founder of the Republic, Machado dos Santos, who had led the struggle in October 1910, and several other political leaders were brutally murdered by left-wing extremists. To the political violence which expressed itself in the early years of the Republic was added financial difficulties. Between 1917 and 1922 the national credit

---

<sup>7</sup> Mattoso, História de Portugal, Vol. II, p. 357.

<sup>8</sup> H.R.H. Princess Pilar of Bavaria, Don Alfonso XIII (London: John Murray, 1931), p. 146. Over the years that the Republic lasted there was an average of one revolution and three cabinets per year.

dropped sharply, and the escudo (the new currency of the Republic) depreciated in value, a result never suffered by the monarchy despite its annual deficits and chronic indebtedness. No national leader stepped forth to resolve the crisis.<sup>9</sup>

The problem was, in part, rooted in the fact that the Republic had been founded by academics, men of integrity and standing within the intellectual community but with no practical skills for resolving the difficulties confronting a nation in which eighty percent of the people were illiterate. The intellectual gulf was simply too great to be bridged. This led to a military take-over in December 1917 when Major Sidonio Pais (1872-1918) seized power. He fused the offices of president and prime minister into one and sought to tackle some of the more pressing problems. In 1918 he made the mistake of granting clemency to some monarchists imprisoned as a result of an abortive coup, which exposed him to charges of betraying the Republic and led to his assassination in December of that year.<sup>10</sup>

Finally in 1928 General Oscar Carmona (1869-1951) was elected President of the Republic, and he turned to Dr. Antonio Salazar (1889-1971), a professor of economics at the University of Coimbra to resolve the financial problems besetting the country. Salazar did so by proclaiming the creation of his "New State" in September 1933 and abolishing the ineffective Republic. Under his rigid control, law and order

---

<sup>9</sup> Livermore, Portugal and Brazil, p. 79. Antonio Salazar did not enter the government until 1928. For a list of the Presidents of Portugal during Manuel II's lifetime see Appendix B.

<sup>10</sup> Lionel King, "The Portuguese Republic—Forty Years After," Contemporary Review, 212 (February 1968), p. 72.

were firmly reestablished and the nation's economy promoted.<sup>11</sup>

The monarchical cause in Portugal after 1910 was a divided one. Various factions, all monarchists of some persuasion, found it difficult to unite against the established Republican regime. Most of them looked upon the Republic as an atheistic regime. One such group which had emerged by 1914 was known as the Integraliso Lusitano. It was opposed to practically all Republicans ideology and accepted the constitutional claims of the exiled monarch at Fullwell Park until 1920 when it began to subscribe to the more conservative doctrines of the Migue-line branch.<sup>12</sup>

Another monarchical organization which came into existence after 1910 was the Causa Monarquica which, with few exceptions, sided with the dethroned monarch residing in England. The organization had Manuel's full endorsement and was directed within Portugal by a lieutenant appointed by the deposed king. It was designated the "official" royalist party within the state and enjoyed great prestige among monarchist elements. Dissension hit its ranks in 1923, after Manuel's endorsement of the Pact of Paris and his apparent disinterest in regaining the throne. The extreme right-wing elements, who embraced a form of monarchy close to that espoused by the Integralist then seceded

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibid, p. 74. On Salazar see Hugh Kay, Salazar and Modern Portugal (London: Eyre & Spottiswood, 1970), and the older work by one of his followers which is still regarded as the best study of the man, Antonio Ferro, Salazar: Portugal and Her Leader (Lisbon, 1939).

<sup>12</sup>Marques, History of Portugal, II, 157.

from Causa Monarquica and established the Accao Realista Portuguesa.<sup>13</sup>

To complicate matters, a fourth group of monarchists existed after 1919. Known generally as the Legitimist party, this group had virtually no program of its own except the endorsement of the Migueline branch of the Braganza family and its candidate for the throne, Dom Miguel "II". The Legitimist faction had very few supporters within Portugal itself until 1920 when it was joined by the Integralists. Two years later the party recorded a victory of sorts with the Pack of Paris, whereby King Manuel declared he would, in the absence of a direct heir, accept the Migueline branch's candidate as his designated successor. Dom Miguel's renunciation of his rights in July 1920 brought his young son, Duarte Nuno, forward as the legitimate pretender for the vacant Portuguese throne.<sup>14</sup>

In 1950, forty years after Manuel II's downfall, the Portuguese government abrogated the law banishing members of the former ruling family from the country. Duarte Nuno, the Duke of Braganza as he was known, was thus able to return to the land of his forefathers.

When Manuel died in July 1932 Duarte became his recognized successor. At his estate in Austria, where he raised chickens, Duarte told an interviewer at the time that he was fully confident of his legal rights to the Portuguese throne and expected to see the reestablishment

---

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 157-158. The Causa Monarquica still maintains an office in Lisbon at 46 Praca Luis de Camoes. Its current secretary-general is Luis M. Couceiro Feio, a very pleasant man who granted me an interview on June 30, 1972.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 158. Also see Bettencourt e Galvão, O Duque de Bragança, pp. 16-17, 27-28, 80-82. Dom Miguel died in Austria on October 11, 1927.

of monarchical government throughout Europe in the future.<sup>15</sup> Duarte's task after 1932 was to unite the various factions of the monarchical cause in support of his claims to the defunct throne.

In 1942 the Portuguese pretender went to Brazil with his sister, the Princess Filipa. While there he met and became engaged to the Princess Maria Francisca of Orleans-Braganza, a descendant of the Brazilian imperial family. On October 4, 1942 a civil service united them in marriage at the Portuguese Embassy in Rio de Janeiro. The religious ceremony occurred the following day at the Cathedral of Petropolis, conducted by the Bishop of Rio. The bride was a granddaughter of Brazil's last Emperor, Dom Pedro II.<sup>16</sup> Duarte's marriage with a member of the Brazilian House of Braganza strengthened his claims to the throne of Portugal.

Duarte and his wife, who died in 1970, had three sons to continue the family heritage: Prince Duarte-João (Born May 14, 1945), Prince Miguel, and Prince Henrique, all born in Switzerland before the Braganzas returned to Portugal in 1950. Today Duarte lives virtually alone in an old palace called São Marcos near the university city of Coimbra. He is regarded by his supporters as the de jure King Duarte II of Portugal. Courtly yet impoverished, he lives with the dream of regaining his family's sovereignty someday. He takes the monarchical position and its implications extremely seriously. He is convinced that monarchy offers the people security and continuity in a crisis-ridden world. The Portuguese government, on the other hand, obviously finds

---

<sup>15</sup> New York Times, July 6, 1932, p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> New York Times, October 16, 1942, p. 5.

the claimant no serious threat. Although there is substantial latent sympathy for a monarchy in Portugal—with as much as 20 percent of the population openly pro-monarchy and many more not unkindly disposed toward it—Portugal's recent moves toward the left would discount any serious effort being made to reestablish such a system of government. The probability was much stronger when Salazar was in power.<sup>17</sup>

Queen Amelia, who had spent her years in exile first in England and then at her chateau in France, expressed a desire in 1945 to return to Portugal for a final visit before her death. The Portuguese government, after some discussion, agreed to a brief sojourn for the former queen. In May 1945 she arrived in Lisbon by train to begin several weeks of visits to the places which had played an important part in her years in Portugal. She returned to France in late June 1945 full of pleasant memories associated with her past as the queen of a proud old nation.<sup>18</sup>

Amelia died at her home near Versailles, where she had spent the last thirty years of her life in exile, on October 25, 1951 at the age of eighty-six.<sup>19</sup> Her death was attributed to angina pectoris, a

---

<sup>17</sup>Walter J. P. Curry, Jr., Monarchs-In-Waiting (New York: Dodd Mead & Company, 1973), p. 73. See interview with Duarte in Curry, pp. 151-161. Each year a monarchist demonstration is held in honor of the founder of the Braganza dynasty, João IV. In 1966 some 6000 royalists gathered at Sao Marcos to pay homage to the claimant, Duarte Nuno.

<sup>18</sup>For the complete story of Amelia's visit see Bertha Leite, A Volta da Rainha A Portugal (Lisboa: Centro Tipografico Colonial, 1945).

<sup>19</sup>New York Times, October 26, 1951, p. 23. She had purchased her French estate in 1921 and lived there throughout the Second World War. She had been suffering from uremia and had been in critical condition for several weeks prior to her death. During the final 10 days of her life she was unable to take any nourishment. Her nephew, the Count of Paris, head of the Orleans family, had been a daily visitor to his aunt's bedside and was with her when the end came.

heart ailment. On October 31st a funeral service was held in Versailles for the former queen and was attended by a number of the members of European royalty. After the service the body was taken to Dreux, where it rested in the mausoleum of the Orleans family for three weeks before being transported to Portugal for final internment in the Pantheon there by order of the President of the Portuguese Republic.<sup>20</sup>

Manuel's mother had expressed a strong desire to be buried beside her husband and children at Saint Vincent's Church and on November 29, 1951 the Portuguese vessel Bartholomeu Dias, bearing her remains from Brest, France anchored in the Tagus. The casket was removed from the ship at the Praca do Commercio in the presence of representatives of the Portuguese government while warships in the harbor fired a twenty-one gun salute. A large crowd lined the route of the funeral procession as it passed along the capital's streets to the final resting place. The coffin, draped in purple cloth, rested upon an army carriage drawn by six white horses. Throughout Portugal the day was observed as one of national mourning for the woman who had given more than a quarter of a century of her life in the service of her adopted country. A requiem mass at the Church was attended by General Craveiro Lopes, the newly elected President of the Republic, and a host of royal mourners including the former King Carol II of Rumania, and Don Juan, the claimant to the Spanish throne. After the service Amelia's remains were placed in the Pantheon among those of the other members of Portugal's

---

<sup>20</sup>Times (London), November 1, 1951, p. 29. Among those present were the Count and Countess of Paris, the former Prince Regent Paul of Yugoslavia, and Princess Christopher of Greece.

former ruling family.<sup>21</sup>

After Manuel's death in 1932 his widow, Augusta Victoria, disposed of Fulwell Park in England and returned to live in her native Germany. The estate was purchased by a group of builders who subsequently tore down the mansion and adjacent buildings and constructed a modern housing project on the site. All that remains today to remind one of the royal occupants who once lived there are a number of streets bearing such names as Manoel Road, Augusta Road, Lisbon Avenue, Portugal Gardens, and Fulwell Park Avenue.<sup>22</sup> On April 23, 1939 Manuel's widow remarried. Her second husband was Count Robert Douglas, a descendant of a Scottish family which had emigrated to Sweden in the sixteenth century and had later settled in Baden, Germany. The wedding ceremony was performed at the count's residence, Schloss Langenstein, near the shores of Lake Constance in southern Germany. It had been rumored since 1936 that Augusta Victoria and the count planned to be married, but it was necessary for him to wait until his first marriage was annulled and he had embraced the Catholic faith. Even after the private ceremony was performed on April 23rd, the couple waited another ten days before announcing the event to the world.<sup>23</sup> No children were born of the union, although the count had offspring by his first marriage which brought Augusta Victoria some of the privileges of

---

<sup>21</sup>New York Times, November 30, 1951, p. 23. Carol II, who died in 1953, also rests among the Braganzas at Saint Vincent's since it was impossible for his remains to be returned to Communist Rumania. His grandmother, Antonia of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, had been born a Portuguese princess.

<sup>22</sup>The housing project was visited by the author on July 6, 1972.

<sup>23</sup>New York Times, May 4, 1939, p. 28.



motherhood. She died on August 29, 1966 at her residence at Münchhof in Baden. Upon her death her worldly possessions passed to her second husband, Count Douglas, who survived her.<sup>24</sup>

The final act in the drama of the House of Braganza was played out in Lisbon in April 1967 when the Portuguese government had the remains of former King Miguel I (1828-1834) and his consort Adelaide of Lowenstein, returned to Portugal and buried among the other members of the family in the royal tomb at Saint Vincent's church. The exiled monarch's body had been exhumed from its grave in Germany (where he died in 1866), while that of his wife was removed from the Isle of Wight off the English coast. A religious service, held on April 9, 1967, was attended by Prince Duarte Nuno, Dr. Antonio Salazar, and some 200 monarchists who cheered the pretender as he left the Church. The return of the ashes of Dom Miguel and his wife to Portugal signified the renunification of the House of Braganza—even though it be in death. Furthermore, it gave proof of the general confidence in the institutions which had governed the country since the downfall of the monarchy in 1910.<sup>25</sup>

When the Braganzas fled Portugal in October 1910, Queen Amelia was reported to have said: "God's will be done. . . . I have done what I could to fulfill my duty."<sup>26</sup> It was true, the Braganzas had all

---

<sup>24</sup>The information concerning Augusta Victoria's death was confirmed in writing to the author, October 11, 1972, by her nephew, Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, head of the House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.

<sup>25</sup>Times (London), April 10, 1967, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup>Bragança-Cunha, Revolutionary Portugal, p. 203.

fulfilled their duties, but by 1910 the Portuguese no longer needed their services. Monarchy was going out of style all over Europe. The Portuguese were among the first to realize that fact. An old man, Duarte Nuno, sits quietly today in his lonely palace at São Marcos, waiting for the Portuguese people to call him to power. The call, more than likely, will never come.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### I. PRIMARY SOURCES

#### A. MANUSCRIPT

Certified copy of an entry of death (for Manuel II) in the General Registrar Office, Somerset House, London.

Great Britain. Foreign Office. Dispatches from the British minister to Portugal, 1906-1910. Public Record Office, London.

Materials relating to Manuel II and the Portuguese royal family. Arquivo Nacional. Lisboa.

Materials relating to Manuel II and the Portuguese royal family. Museu da Marinha, Lisboa.

Materials relating to Manuel II in the Twickenham Reference Library, Twickenham, Surrey, England.

United States. Department of State. Dispatches from the American minister to Portugal, 1906-1910. Record Group 84 (microfilm). National Archives, Washington, D.C.

#### B. PRINTED

Almeida, José Luis de, Marquês de Lavradio. Memórias do Sexto Marquês de Lavradio. Lisboa: Edições Atica, 1967.

Bing, Edward J., ed. The Secret Letters of the Last Tsar. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1938.

Cabral, Antonio, ed. Cartas D'el-Rei D. Manuel II. Lisboa: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, 1933.

Cardim, Luis, ed. Cartas de D. Manuel II A Edgar Prestage. Lisboa: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1952.

Cavalheiro, Antonio Rodrigues, ed. Cartas de Sua Majestade A Rainha Senhora Dona Amelia A. D. Manuel de Bastos Pina. Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editôra, 1948.

\_\_\_\_\_. D. Manuel II e João Franco. Correspondência inédita. Lisboa: Biblioteca do Pensamento Politico, 1970.

Christopher, Prince of Greece. Memoirs of H.R.H. Prince Christopher of Greece. London: The Right Book Club, 1938.

Correspondência de El-Rei D. Manuel II Com o Dr. Maurice L. Ettinghausen sobre os "Livros Antigos Portugueses." Lisboa: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1957.

Ettinghausen, Maurice L. Rare Books and Royal Collectors. Memoirs of an Antiquarian Bookseller. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966.

Eulalia, Princess of Spain. Memoirs of a Spanish Princess. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1937.

Hardinge, Sir Charles. A Diplomatist in Europe. London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 1927.

Loring, George B. A Year In Portugal, 1889-1890. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891.

Machado, Bernardino. Da Monarquia para a Republica. Coimbra: F. Franca Amado, 1905.

Manuel II, King of Portugal. Livros Antigos Portugueses, 1489-1600. 3 Volumes. London: Maggs Brothers, 1929-1935.

Marie, Queen of Rumania. The Story of My Life. New York: Scribner's, 1934.

Papers Relating To The Foreign Relations of the United States for 1889. Washington, D.C." Government Printing Office, 1890.

Papers Relating To The Foreign Relations of the United States for 1904. Washington, D.C." Government Printing Office, 1905.

Papers Relating To The Foreign Relations of the United States for 1908. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912.

Papers Relating To The Foreign Relations of the United States for 1910. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915.

Prestage, Edgar. "Reminiscences of Portugal," H. V. Livermore, editor. Portugal and Brazil. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.

Programma Para A Recepção de Sua Majestade El-Rei D. Manuel II na Coimbra em 20 de Novembro de 1908. Empresa Universidade, Universidade de Coimbra, 1908.

Santos, Machado. A Revolução Portuguesa. Relatorio de Machado Santos, 1907-1910. Lisboa: Lamas & Franklin, 1911.

Sousa, Antonio Teixeira de. Para a História da Revolução. Coimbra: Moura Marques & Paraísos, 1912.

## C. INTERVIEWS

His Majesty, King Umberto II of Italy, June 23, 1972, Cascais, Portugal.

The Honorable Luis M. Couceiro Feio, Secretary-General of the Causa Monarquica, June 30, 1972, Lisboa, Portugal.

## II. SECONDARY MATERIALS

## A. BOOKS

Abreu Freire, Donacião de. O Ultimo Rei de Portugal. Porto: Edição do Autor, 1934.

Afonso, A. Martins. Breve História de Portugal. Porto: Porto Editora, Ltda., n. d.

Aires de Sa. Principe Real D. Luis Filipe. Lisboa: Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1929.

\_\_\_\_\_. Rainha D. Amelia. Lisboa: Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1928.

Almanach de Gotha, 1909. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1909.

Almeida, A. Duarte de. Os Ultimos Braganças. Lisboa: João Romano Torres & Co., n. d.

Almeida, Fortunato de. História de Portugal. Vol. VI. Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, Ltda., 1957.

Amaral, Augusto Ferreira do. A Acalmação e Dom Manuel II. Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1966.

Ameal, Joao. História de Portugal. Oporto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1962.

Annual Register, 1908. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909.

Annual Register, 1909. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910.

Annual Register, 1910. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911.

Beirao, Caetano. El-Rei Dom Miguel I e a sua descendência. Lisboa: Portugalia Editora, 1943.

Bello, Jose. A History of Modern Brazil. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.

Bettencourt e Galvão, Manuel de. O Duque de Bragança. Lisboa: Edições Gama, 1945.

- Bizarro, A. H. El-Rei D. Manuel II na Grande Guerra. Lisboa: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1952.
- Bragança-Cunha, Vicente de. Eighth Centuries of Portuguese Monarchy. London: Stephen Swift, 1911.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Revolutionary Portugal, 1910-1936. London: J. Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1937.
- Calogeras, Jose P. A History of Brazil. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939.
- Castro, Luis Vieira de. D. Carlos I. Lisboa: Portugalia Editora, 1943.
- Corpechot, Lucien. Souvenirs Sur La Reine Amélie de Portugal. Paris: Pierre Lafitte & Co., 1914.
- Curley, Walter J. P. Monarchs-In-Waiting. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1973.
- Dias, Carlos Malheiro. Quem e o Rei de Portugal. Lisboa: José Bastos & Co., 1908.
- Duffy, James. Portuguese Africa. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Edward, Duke of Windsor. The Crown and The People, 1902-1953. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1954.
- Ferreira, Joaquim. História de Portugal. Oporto: Editorial Domingos Barreira, 1951.
- Fontenoy, Marquise de. Within Royal Palaces. Philadelphia: Hubbard Publishing Co., 1892.
- Gomes, A. Luiz. D. Manuel II. Universitário, Invesitador, e Mecenas da Cultura. Lisboa: Portugalia Editora, 1957.
- Gore, John. King George V. London: John Murray, 1941.
- Gribble, Francis. The Royal House of Portugal. London: Eveleigh Nash, 1915.
- Hammond, Richard J. Portugal and Africa, 1815-1910. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.
- Haring, C. H. Empire In Brazil. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Inchbold, A. C. Lisbon and Cintra. London: Chatto and Windus, 1907.
- Leitão, Joaquim. As Alianças das Casas de Bragança e Hohenzollern. Porto: A. J. Silva Teixeira, 1913.

- Lima, Archer de. O Marques de Soveral e o seu tempo. Porto: Livraria Universal, 1923.
- Livermore, H. V. A History of Portugal. Cambridge: University Press, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A New History of Portugal. Cambridge: University Press, 1966.
- Magnus, Sir Philip. King Edward VII. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1964.
- Mattoso, Antonio. História de Portugal. 2 volumes. Lisboa: Livraria Sa da Costa, 1939.
- Mirando, Cardoso de. O Último Rei. Lisboa: Livraria Ferin, Lda., 1960.
- Navarro, Alberto, Visconde da Trindade. A Dinastia de Bragança. Lisboa: Grafica Santelmo, Lda., 1966.
- Nicholson, Harold. King George the Fifth. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1953.
- Nowell, Charles E. A History of Portugal. New York: Van Nostrand Co., 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Portugal. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973.
- Oliveira Marques, A. H. de. History of Portugal, Vol. II. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.
- Ornelas, Ayres de. Viagem de Príncipe Real. Lisboa: Escolas Tipograficas das Oficinas de S. Jose, 1928.
- Osgood, Samuel M. French Royalism Under the Third and Fourth Republics. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960.
- Pabón, Jesus. La Revolución Portuguesa. Madrid: Espasacalpe, S. A., 1941.
- Pattee, Richard. Portugal and the Portuguese World. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1957.
- Payne, Stanley. A History of Spain and Portugal. Vol. II. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973.
- Peres, Damião, ed. História de Portugal. Vol. VII. Barcelos: Portucalense Editora, Ltda., 1935.
- Pilar, Princess of Bavaria. Don Alfonso XIII. London: John Murray, 1931.

- Pillement, Georges. Unknown Portugal. London: Johnson Publications, Ltd., 1967.
- Ribeiro, Armando. A Revolução Portuguesa. Vol. I-IV. Lisboa: Joao Romano Torres & Co., 1914.
- Rocha Martins, Francisco Jose. D. Carlos. História do seu Reinado. Lisboa: Edição Portuguesa A. B. C., 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_. D. Manuel II. História do seu Reinado e da Implantação da Republica. Lisboa: Edição Portuguesa A. B. C., 1931.
- Sanches, José Dias. O Rei Saudade. Lisboa: Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1932.
- Soula e Costa, Julio de. O Rei Dom Carlos I. Factos Inéditos do seu tempo (1863-1908). Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1943.
- Sovereigns and Courts of Europe. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1891.
- Watson, Frederick. The Life of Sir Robert Jones. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934.

#### B. MAGAZINE AND JOURNAL ARTICLES

- Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, "Republican Tyranny in Portugal," The Nineteenth Century, 73 (May 1913), 1055-1059.
- "The Assassination of the King of Portugal," Independent, 64 (February 6, 1908), 278-280.
- Bell, Aubrey J., "Portuguese Republic," Contemporary Review, 101 (March 1912), 370-379.
- Bixler, Raymond W., "Anglo-Portuguese Rivalry For Delagoa Bay," Journal of Modern History, 6 (1934), 425-440.
- Bland, J. O. O., "A Portuguese Jacobin," The Nineteenth Century, 70 (July 1911), 145-151.
- Carvalho, Augusto da Silva, "A Rainha D. Amelia e a Assistência Publica em Portugal," Anais, 4 (1953), 25-104.
- Chatfield-Taylor, H. C., "Lisbon the Fair," Cosmopolitan, 37 (October 1904), 675-682.
- Dillon, E. J., "The Portuguese Revolution," Living Age, 267 (December 3, 1910), 579-587.
- "Downfall of the Portuguese Monarchy," Current Literature, 49 (November 1910), 480-489.



- Durant, Kellogg, "What is happening in Portugal?" Independent, 69 (October 27, 1910), 907-911.
- "Ex King Manuel and the Republic," Independent, 74 (May 15, 1913), 1110.
- "The Fall of Franco," Independent, 64 (February 13, 1908), 339-340.
- Keniston, Howard, "The President of the Portuguese Republic," Independent, 69 (October 20, 1910), 848-851.
- King, Lionel, "The Portuguese Republic—Forty Years After," Contemporary Review, 212 (February 1968), 72.
- McCullagh, Francis. "Some Causes of the Portuguese Revolution," The Nineteenth Century, 68 (November 1910), 934-935.
- "The New King of Portugal," Current Literature, 44 (March 1908), 268-273.
- Nowell, Charles E., "Portugal and the Partition of Africa," Journal of Modern History, 19 (March 1947), 1-17.
- Obituary of Queen Amelia, Time, 58 (November 5, 1951), 100.
- Paradyne, Henry, "The Uncrowning of Manuel," Harper's Weekly, 54 (October 15, 1910), 8.
- "Prodigious education of the young King of Portugal," Current Literature, 46 (April 1909), 385-388.
- "The Revolution in Portugal," Independent, 69 (October 13, 1910), 794-796.
- "The Royal Tragedy at Lisbon," Harper's Weekly, 52 (February 15, 1908), 9.
- Wheeler, Douglas L., "The Portuguese Revolution of 1910," Journal of Modern History, 44 (June 1972), 172-194.

#### C. NEWSPAPERS

##### 1. American

New York Times, 1889-1951

##### 2. British

The Daily Telegraph, August 23, 1913

The Richmond and Twickenham Times, August 23, 1913

Surrey Comet, December 11, 1926

Times (London), 1889-1967

## 3. Portuguese

Diário do Governo, 1908-1910  
Diário de Notícias, 1908-1910  
Diário Illustrado, 1908-1910  
O Jornal do Commercio, 1908-1910  
O Mundo, 1908-1910

## APPENDIX A

### THE HOUSE OF BRAGANZA

- D. João IV (Founder of the Family upon the Throne)
  - Born in 1604
  - Married to Luisa de Gusmão in 1633
  - Ascended Throne in 1640
  - Died in 1656
- D. Afonso VI (Son of João IV)
  - Born in 1643
  - Inherited Throne in 1656
  - Assumed government in 1662
  - Married Maria Francisca Isabel de Savoy in 1666
  - Abdicated Throne in 1667
  - Died in 1683
- D. Pedro II (Brother of Afonso VI)
  - Born in 1648
  - Regent of the Realm in 1667
  - Married Maria Francisca Isabel de Savoy in 1668
  - Ascended Throne in 1683
  - Married Maria Sofia Isabel of Neuburg in 1687
  - Died in 1706
- D. João V (Son of Pedro II)
  - Born in 1689
  - Ascended Throne in 1706
  - Married Maria Ana of Austria in 1708
  - Died in 1750
- D. José I (Son of João V)
  - Born in 1714
  - Married Maria Ana Vitoria of Spain in 1729
  - Ascended Throne in 1750
  - Died in 1777
- D. Maria I (Daughter of José I)
  - Born in 1734
  - Married her uncle, D. Pedro III, in 1760
  - Ascended Throne in 1777
  - Declared incapable to rule in 1792
  - Died in 1816

- D. João VI (Son of Maria I)  
Born in 1767  
Married Carlota Joaquina of Spain in 1784  
Assumed Regency in 1792  
Retired to Brazil in 1807  
Returned to Portugal in 1821  
Died in 1826
- D. Pedro IV (Son of João VI)  
Born in 1798  
Married Leopoldina of Austria in 1818  
Proclaimed First Emperor of Brazil in 1822  
Became King of Portugal in 1826  
Abdicated Throne of Portugal in 1826 and that of Brazil in 1831  
Married Amelia of Leuchtenberg in 1829  
Died in 1834
- D. Miguel I (Brother of Pedro IV)  
Born in 1802  
Ascended Throne of Portugal in 1828  
Forced into exile in 1834  
Married Adelaide Sofia of Lowens ein in 1851  
Died in exile in 1866
- D. Maria II (Daughter of Pedro IV)  
Born in 1819  
Ascended Throne in 1834  
Married Augustus of Leuchtenberg in 1835  
Married Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha in 1836  
Died in childbirth in 1853
- D. Pedro V (Son of Maria II)  
Born in 1837  
Ascended Throne in 1853  
Married Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen in 1858  
Died in 1861
- D. Luis I (Brother of Pedro V)  
Born in 1838  
Ascended Throne in 1861  
Married Maria Pia of Italy in 1862  
Died in 1889
- D. Carlos I (Son of Luis I)  
Born in 1863  
Married Marie Amelia of Bourbon-Orleans in 1886  
Ascended Throne in 1889  
Died by assassination in 1908

**D. Manuel II (Son of Carlos I)****Born in 1889****Ascended Throne in 1908****Overthrown by Revolution in 1910****Married Augusta Victoria of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen in 1913****Died in exile in England in 1932**

## APPENDIX B

### PRESIDENTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF PORTUGAL DURING MANUEL II'S LIFETIME

Dr. Manuel de Arriaga. Elected in 1911, resigned in 1915.

Dr. Theophile Braga. Elected in May 1915, left position in October of the same year.

Dr. Bernardino Machado. Elected in 1915, deposed in 1917.

Sidonio Pais. Elected in January 1918, assassinated in December of the same year.

Admiral Canto e Castro. Elected in December 1918, left office in October 1919.

Dr. Antonio José de Almeida. Elected in 1919, terminated by mandate in 1923.

Manuel Teixeira Gomes. Elected in 1923, resigned in 1925.

Dr. Bernardino Machado. Elected in 1925, deposed in 1926.

General Oscar Carmona. Elected in 1928, died in office in 1951.

Source: Martins Afonso, Breve História de Portugal, pp. 180-182.

## VITA

Russell Earl Benton, the son of James Franklin and M'Liss Cook Benton, was born in Seminole County, Florida, September 23, 1939. He was educated in the public schools of Sanford, Florida, graduating from high school in 1957. His bachelor of arts degree was acquired from Erskine College, Due West, South Carolina in 1961, and the master of arts degree from Stetson University, Deland, Florida in 1962.

From the fall of 1962 until 1964 Benton was an instructor in history and political science at the University of South Carolina. During the 1964-1965 school year he served as a social science instructor for the Chesterfield County school system, Pageland, South Carolina. In 1965 Benton joined the faculty of the department of history at Lenoir Rhyne College, Hickory, North Carolina for one year appointment. The following year he was appointed Assistant Professor of History at Gardner-Webb College, Boiling Springs, North Carolina. He returned to Lenoir Rhyne College in the fall of 1967 as an instructor in history. In 1972 he was promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor of History and granted tenure.

In addition to his studies at Erskine, Stetson, and Louisiana State University, Benton had done graduate work at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Rollins College in Florida, and the University of Vienna. In 1965 he was awarded an R. J. Reynolds Fellowship for study at the University of North Carolina for the summer, and

in 1970 he received an LCA (Lutheran Church in America) Doctoral Study Grant which enabled him to complete the course work on his Ph.D. program at Louisiana State University. In 1973 Benton was honored with selection to "WHO'S WHO IN NORTH CAROLINA." He is a member of both the European History Division of the Southern Historical Association and the National Education Association.



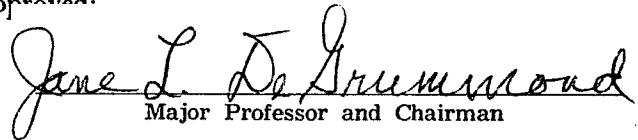
## EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

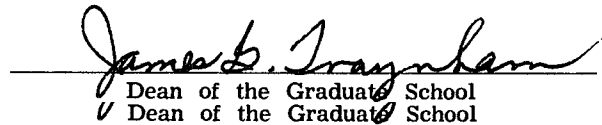
Candidate: Russell E. Benton

Major Field: History

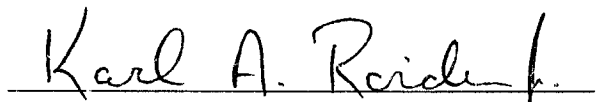
Title of Thesis: THE DOWNFALL OF A KING: DOM MANUEL II OF PORTUGAL

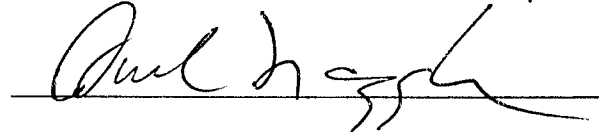
Approved:

  
Major Professor and Chairman

  
Dean of the Graduate School  
Dean of the Graduate School

### EXAMINING COMMITTEE:









Date of Examination:

April 3, 1975